The Greek language of healing

from

Homer to New Testament times

By

Margaret Louise Stretch

M. L. S. Wells, B.A. Dip. Ed. M.A.

Department of Classics

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The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or graduate diploma in any tertiary institution, nor so far as I am aware, any material published or written by others, except where acknowledged in references.

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Preface

The problem of suffering has preoccupied mankind since the earliest times. From the time of Homer to the present day humans have constantly searched for a solution to their suffering and an understanding of it. This study focuses on two expressions of this search through a study of the Greek language of healing: the healing cult of Asklepios, which flourished in the Mediterranean world from the fifth century BC to the fourth century AD, and that of Jesus of Nazareth, whose healing ministry began in the first century AD, supplanted that of Asklepios in the fourth century AD, and is still in existence today. The investigation does not consider whether physical healings actually occurred; rather it is an exploration of the meaning of the general terms used to describe the healings recorded.

The study is in two parts: Part One begins with the use of healing language in the work of Homer, and traces the development of this semantic field through a study of the language surrounding the cult of Asklepios at Epidauros, Athens, Kos and Pergamon. These four centres were chosen because they illustrate the differing nature of the cult over the period of its existence. Epidauros was a major colonising sanctuary, and remained a major centre of pilgrimage throughout its existence; Athens became a state cult and so illustrates a parochial and familial quality; Kos was the centre of a major medical school; and Pergamon was both the cult focus of a major hellenistic monarchy, and the site where the great Galen practised medicine. Thus a focus on these four centres allows a study of a breadth of sources, from before the time of Hippokrates until the time of Galen. Naturally the study of sources is not exhaustive. A selection was made from as wide a field as possible to illustrate the use of general healing terms in inscriptions and literature over the longest possible timespan.

After a bridging survey of the Jewish use of this semantic field in the Septuagint, together with complementary material from Philo of Alexandria, and Josephus, Part Two focuses on the meaning of the same semantic field in the New Testament. A linguistic survey of Hebrew and Aramaic documents is excluded, as being outside the scope of the topic, in terms of both space and relevance.

The study is in two volumes: Volume One contains the argument, Volume Two the texts and translations (or analysis of texts) on which the argument is based. Usually only the primary texts in which language has been discussed are cited in the bibliography, otherwise reference to primary sources is made by the usual method in footnotes.

Central to this study are the human concepts of health and wholeness, and of the relationship of mind and body, spirit and soul, and the language used to express these concepts and relationships. Especially significant are the forms and usage of θεραπεύω, ἰάομαι, ὑγιαίνω, σῴζω, and their derivatives. It will be seen that θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι, while overlapping slightly in meaning, are not synonymous in a healing context, and that there is an aspectual quality implicit in each that is important for our understanding of them. As well, from its first appearance in cognate form in the work of Homer, the verb θεραπεύω over time burgeons in meaning to include emotional, physical, spiritual, and psychological factors (although these factors are foreshadowed in the characteristics of the Homeric θεράπων), until, in a teaching context, its focus is primarily spiritual. In contrast, the meaning of the other verb groups remains reasonably static. Thus these characteristics, noted in Part One, reflected in the healing language of the Septuagint, and corroborated by contemporary Jewish authors writing in Greek, are important for our understanding of the appearance of these word groups in the New Testament.

I owe acknowledgement to those who have made the research for this thesis possible: the Commonwealth for the award of a postgraduate scholarship; the Tasmanian Friends of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens for a scholarship which enabled me to travel to Greece, stay at the Institute Hostel in Athens for three months and read at the libraries of the foreign schools there; the Classics Department of the University of Tasmania for the award of a Dunbabin Scholarship which enabled me to travel to the archaeological sites of asklepieia in Greece and Turkey; the staff of the museums at Bergama, Kos, Korinth, Epidauros, Piraeus and Athens for permission to photograph exhibits; and the staff of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens for permission to work there and to photograph some of the stones. The debt I owe to Ludwig and Emma Edelstein will also become obvious. Their collection of testimonies

concerning the cult of Asklepios has been an invaluable resource for this study.

I would also like to thank my associate advisers: Professor Raoul Mortley for inspiring the work in the first place; Professor Max Wilcox for reading the original drafts of chapters seven and eight, for his helpful comments and for making his books available to me. Most of all I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Paul Weaver for teaching me Greek, and for bearing with the work throughout its entirety. I have greatly appreciated his support and quiet encouragement.

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All mistakes are, of course, my own.

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Abbreviations

App.	Appendix
Apps	Appendices
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
GT	Gospel of Thomas
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
Jn	The gospel according to John
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
Lk	The gospel according to Luke
LXX	Septuagint
Mk	The gospel according to Mark
Mt	The gospel according to Matthew
New Docs	*New Documents illustrating Early Christianity*
NT	New Testament
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Suddhoffs Archiv	*Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*

Part One

The language of healing in the Greek world

κρεῖσσον δὲ νοσεῖν ἢ θεραπεύειν·
τὸ μέν ἐστιν ἁπλοῦν, τῷ δὲ συνάπτει
λύπη τε φρενῶν χερσίν τε πόνος.

Euripides, *Hippolytos* 186-8

Chapter One

In the beginning

"In the beginning was the Word"[1] and the 'Word', for the Greeks, was embodied in Homer's[2] *Iliad*.[3] In this mighty epic the Greek understanding of the Cosmos was outlined. The nature of the gods, their role in the Cosmos, and their relationship with mankind, as portrayed in the *Iliad*, formed the way in which the gods were imagined. Several themes at once emerge that are pertinent to this study. These are the concepts of good and evil, and the understanding of their source, the role of destiny in the life of mankind, and the gods' administration of justice.

Even at this early stage in Greek thought,[4] Asklepios and his sons are linked with healing, although it is the god, Apollo, who is seen as the cause of both sickness and health. The *Iliad* makes it clear that Zeus is the source of both evil and good:

> "...There are two urns that stand on the doorsill of Zeus. They are unlike
> for the gifts they bestow: an urn of evils (κακῶν), an urn of blessings (ἐάων).
> If Zeus who delights in thunder mingles these and bestows them
> on man, he shifts, and moves now in evil (κακῷ) again in good fortune (ἐσθλῷ)
> But when Zeus bestows from the urn of sorrows (λυγρῶν), he makes a failure
> of man, and the evil hunger drives him over the shining
> earth, and he wanders respected (τετιμένος) neither of gods nor mortals...."[5]

Thus Achilleus explains the suffering of mankind in general, and his own and Priam's in particular, in the final book of the *Iliad*. It is an interesting explanation. Evil (κακός) here is used in the more general sense of sorrows or suffering, and Achilleus catalogues the worst woes he

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1 Jn 1.1

2 A discussion of the controversy surrounding the Homeric question is not relevant to this study. For information on this issue see Kirk (1962); Young (1967); and on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as literature, see Bowra (1930); Clarke (1967); Mueller (1984); and Murnaghan (1987).

3 All translations of the *Iliad* are by Richmond Lattimore, in Homer (1961). The Greek text is that found in Homer (1978) and (1984), ed M. M. Willcock. References are based on Lattimore's translation in Homer (1961) as the line numbering in the Greek text and Lattimore's translation occasionally varies by one line.

4 Approximately the middle of the eighth century BC.

5 *Iliad* 24.527-533

can think of: homelessness, childlessness, grinding poverty, disgrace, and, the very worst of all evils: to be without respect. Zeus' administration of justice appears to be quite arbitrary - he dabbles in evils and blessings seemingly without thought, or reason. What is most interesting, however, is that Achilleus accepts this arbitrariness without question, as does Priam. Their acceptance of good or ill as the work of the gods is typical of the characters in the *Iliad,* and can be explained by their concept of destiny.[6] Elsewhere evil is synonymous with death, or the series of events leading to death. Zeus is again described as the source of this evil:

> "...And the son of Kronos
> drove down the evil turmoil upon them, and from aloft cast
> down dews dripping blood from the sky, since he was minded
> to hurl down a multitude of strong heads to the house of Hades...."[7]

The events leading up to Patroklos' death are described as "...the beginning of his evil (κακοῦ)...."(11.603). And this evil was begun by the gods, as Thetis makes clear, when trying to comfort Achilleus after Patroklos' death:

> "...My child, now, though we grieve for him, we must let this man lie
> dead, in the way he first was killed through the gods' designing...."[8]

Thetis already knows that "...death and powerful destiny stand closely above..."(24.132) her son Achilleus. It is impossible for man to escape his destiny, i.e. his death, and not even Thetis attempts this on behalf of her son, even though she makes Zeus give him glory in the manner of it (the *raison d'être* of the whole plot of the *Iliad*). That it is impossible for a man to escape his destiny is shown by the life and death of Lykaon, a son of Priam. He thought he had escaped his destiny, when, having been sold as a slave in Lemnos by Achilleus, he was later ransomed. However, he again faces Achilleus before Troy (21.34-135). Lykaon,

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6 See below, 2-3.
7 *Iliad* 11.52-55
8 *Iliad* 19.9-10

"...in terror came near him
in an agony to catch at his knees, and the wish in his heart was
to get away from the evil death and the dark fate..."[9]

He bewailed the fact that "...Now again cursed destiny has put me in your hands;..."(21.82-3), and knew that:

"...This time
the evil shall be mine in this place, since I do not think
I shall escape your hands, since divinity drove me against them...."[10]

Thus the manner of a man's life, but especially of his death, is foreordained by his destiny. So Hecabe weeps for her son Hektor:

"...and the way at the first strong Destiny
spun with his life line when he was born,..."[11]

for Hektor was born to die by the hand of Achilleus while defending Troy.

The role of destiny is central to the plot of the *Iliad* and seems to be accepted by both mortals and gods. The inevitability of death for mortals is seen as part of life; the struggle is not so much to escape destiny (death), as it is to win glory in the manner of one's destiny. So Zeus inclines his head to Thetis' request for glory for her son Achilleus (1.524), but does not prevent his death (19.409-417). Thus the purpose of life in the *Iliad* is to attain glory, to win renown,[12] and to leave behind sons who will follow in their father's footsteps (24.538-9). All this is in the gods' hands, and so it is vital to ensure that the gods are on one's own side. To this end man prays, sings, and makes sacrifices to win the gods' favour.[13]

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9 *Iliad* 21.64-66
10 *Iliad* 21.91-3
11 *Iliad* 24.209-10
12 Note the punishment given to Thamyris the Thracian (2.594-600) who is "forgotten" (ἐκλέλαθον) as a singer.
13 See 1.450-479 where the Danaans try to appease Apollo's wrath (after restoring Chryseis to her father), by sacrifice, prayer and singing - to good effect (1.479). However, some sacrifices are more effective than others (10.45-6).

The gods also administer justice. Zeus is portrayed as the source of natural disaster, as explained in Homeric simile:[14]

> "...As underneath the hurricane all the black earth is burdened
> on an autumn day, when Zeus sends down the most violent waters
> in deep rage against mortals after they stir him to anger
> because in violent assembly they pass decrees that are crooked,
> and drive righteousness from among them and care nothing for what the gods think,
> and all the rivers of these men swell current to full spate
> and in the ravines of their water-courses rip all the hillsides
> and dash whirling in huge noise down to the blue sea, out of
> the mountains headlong, so that the works of men are diminished;
> so huge rose the noise from the horses of Troy in their running...."[15]

This passage gives us a clue to man's notion of the god's integrity. Zeus shows anger at unjust laws (σκολιὰς...θέμιστας), at loss of righteousness (δίκην), and especially for not heeding the vengeance of the gods (θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες). So we see the concept of right behaviour promoted, i.e. just laws passed in assembly without violence (βίη), a pursuit of righteousness, and careful nurturing of the goodwill of the gods. This notion of the god's integrity is evident elsewhere in the *Iliad*. Agamemnon exhorts his men on the basis that Zeus will not give aid to liars (4.235); i.e. he believes that his cause against the Trojans is a just one, and, as such, is duly blessed by Zeus.

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14 Willcock in Homer (1984) 249, commenting on this simile, asserts that the "...attribution of storm damage to punishment inflicted by Zeus on human wickedness is unique in the *Iliad*,..." but, in my opinion, the strength to do so is implicit in his attributes, and his role as chief dispenser of justice, however arbitrary that justice may be, perhaps demands this. See also Dodds (1951) 32, who argues that this simile is, "...a reflex of later conditions which, by an inadvertence common in Homer, has been allowed to slip into a simile....". He bases his argument on the fact that he has found "...no indication in the narrative of the *Iliad* that Zeus is concerned with justice as such...." See also Grube (1951) 69, who disagrees. According to Grube (78, n.25) "...We might declare at least 386-387 a later interpolation, but that way lies chaos. While we are not told that punishment always follows crooked judgments (which it obviously does not), the implication that crooked judgments are punished by Zeus is there, even if the punishment is rather indiscriminate. The sentiments are closely parallel in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 219-264. It is wiser to let this passage remind us that we are not dealing with static ideas about the gods. Human rewards for the best judgment are found in *Il.* 18.507-508...."

15 *Iliad* 16.384-393

Disregard of and disrespect for a priest of Apollo are also reason enough for Apollo himself to dispense his version of just punishment and so set in motion all the events of the *Iliad*. Apollo,

> "...in anger at the king drove
> the foul pestilence (νοῦσον ... κακήν) along the host, and the people perished...."[16]

the reason being that Agamemnon had dishonoured (ἠτίμασεν) Chryses, his priest. So, as in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*,[17] Apollo is depicted as the source of men suffering disease and death, in the form of a plague.

The Muses, too, punish a mortal in anger:

> "... the Muses
> encountering Thamyris the Thracian stopped him from singing
> ...for he boasted that he would surpass, if the very Muses,
> daughters of Zeus who holds the aegis, were singing against him,
> and these in their anger struck him maimed (πηρὸν), and the voice of wonder
> they took away, and made him a singer without memory (ἐκλέλαθον);..."[18]

Here the punishment seems very severe - not death (as Zeus and Apollo), but a living death: Thamyris forced to live his life disfigured, disabled, and unknown. He exemplifies Achilleus' catalogue of woes.[19] These cameos of the gods' justice stress that if mortals wish to succeed and flourish they must give due honour to the gods and their representatives. And if we take the Homeric simile about Zeus' punishment seriously, then mortals are also required to live upright lives in their dealings with other mortals.

Nevertheless, mortals can, and do, blame the gods for their own bad behaviour. So Agamemnon explains away his actions[20] to Achilleus:

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16 *Iliad* 1.9-10

17 Oedipus also acknowledges Apollo as the author of his 'evil' and suffering (*OT* 1329-30). Thucydides too notes that some of his contemporaries attributed the plague that devastated Athens in the early years of the Peloponnesian War to Apollo (2.54; cf. 1.118).

18 *Iliad* 2.594-5, 597-600

19 See above, 1-2.

20 See Dodds (1951) 1-27.

"...yet I am not responsible
but Zeus is, and Destiny, and Erinys the mist-walking
who in assembly caught my heart in the savage delusion
on that day I myself stripped from him the prize of Achilleus.
Yet what could I do? It is the god who accomplishes all things.
Delusion is the elder daughter of Zeus, the accursed
who deludes all; her feet are delicate and they step not
on the firm earth, but she walks the air above men's heads
and leads them astray. She has entangled others before me...."[21]

Thus a man may rejoice that the gods favour him, or weep that the gods are against him, and so absolve himself of all responsibility for his actions.[22] Even though he may attempt to make reparation for wrongdoing, he does not suffer from guilt for actions and events that he sees as ultimately beyond his control. So he rationalises his situation. In this way his actions and behaviour are in the gods' hands, just as a man's life and death are foreordained, and therefore beyond his control. This thought even extends to a man's prowess in battle, or in athletic contest. So Aias recognises that Athene "...made me slip on my feet..." (23.782), so that she could answer Odysseus' silent prayer (23.768-71). This explanation of his defeat is readily understood and accepted by his peers (23.784).

Given the role of destiny, does man have any control at all over his life? Can he make the gods intervene on his behalf, and if so, how?

The answer, of course, is affirmative. Although ultimately Zeus decrees that destiny must be satisfied,[23] man can gather strength,[24] win glory,[25] and bring suffering on others,[26] by means of prayer. Prayer is an effective weapon in man's armory, both spoken and silent. We have already seen how Odysseus' silent prayer to Athene was effective (23.763-83); and Apollo's wrath in action, in answer to the fervent prayer of his priest,

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21 *Iliad* 19.86-94
22 Note the different role given to Oedipus by Sophocles in this regard (*OT* 1331f.).
23 *Iliad* 8.469-77; 15.47-77
24 *Iliad* 5.114-32; 16.523-32; 23.763-83
25 *Iliad* 7.200-312; 10.277-514
26 *Iliad* 1.35-100, 380-2

Chryses (1.35-43). Zeus also hears the twofold prayer of Achilleus, although he grants only one:

> "... So he spoke in prayer, and Zeus of the counsels heard him.
> The father granted him one prayer, and denied him the other.
> That Patroklos should beat back the fighhting assault on the vessels
> he allowed, but refused to let him come back safe out of the fighting...."[27]

Zeus also hears, and answers, the prayer of Aias (17.645-650).

But in relation to this study, it is man's conception of Apollo that is the most significant of all the portraits of the gods. He is the god who is most directly and continuously linked with man's physical well-being. Apollo's wrath causes the plague: he inflicts sickness, suffering and death on Chryses' enemies, in answer to Chryses' urgent prayer (1.8-100). Thus he is the source of disease, and death as a result of disease. He is also the source of healing, again as a result of prayer. Glaukos (16.508-531) in battle, beseeches Apollo to heal him:

> "...'Hear me , my lord...wherever you are you can listen
> to a man in pain (ἀνέρι κηδομένῳ) as now this pain has descended on me
> (ὡς νῦν ἐμὲ κῆδος ἱκάνει)....
> make well this strong wound (τόδε καρτερὸν ἕλκος ἄκεσσαι)
> and put the pains to sleep, (κοίμησον δ' ὀδύνας,) give me strength,
> (δὸς δὲ κράτος,)...' "[28]

so that he may defend Sarpedon's body, and instil confidence in his companions. Apollo hears, and immediately grants his prayer:

> "... So he spoke in prayer, and Phoibos Apollo heard him.
> At once he made the pains stop, and dried away from the hard wound
> the dark running of blood, and put strength (μένος) into his spirit (θυμῷ).
> And Glaukos knew in his heart what was done, and was happy
> that the great god had listened to his prayer...."[29]

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27 *Iliad* 16.249-252
28 *Iliad* 16.514-6, 523-4
29 *Iliad* 16.527-532

Thus Apollo is both the source of disease and healing,[30] and, prompted by mortal prayer, he can, and does, prescribe both. His role in the *Iliad* is curious. He favours the Trojans (4.507-513), especially Hektor (11.349-366; 15.254-257;[31] 20.440-5). Achilleus calls him the "most malignant (ὀλοώτατε) of all gods" (22.15) when he thwarts his plans. He is capable of foul play, as when in anger he dashes the shining whip from the hands of Diomedes (23.383-4), and leaves him defenceless. (It is fortunate for Diomedes that Athene comes to his rescue, and restores his whip 23.387-390). He has links with Pergamon, whence he watches the battle (4.507-8, *et al.*), and whither he spirits the wounded Aineias:

> "... away from the onslaught, and set him
> in the sacred keep of Pergamos where was built his own temple.
> There Artemis of the showering arrows and Leto within
> the great and secret chamber healed his wound and cared for him...."
> (ἀκέοντό τε κύδαινόν τε·)[32]

Thus Apollo, from the very earliest times in Greek memory, was associated with Pergamon, and healing. Pergamon later became one of the great healing centres of the ancient world.[33]

Other figures also heal in the *Iliad*. When the goddess Dione recounts the suffering and endurance of the gods (5.381-415) to the wounded goddess Aphrodite, she tells how Paiëon healed Hades of an arrow wound, when "his spirit was suffering (κῆδε δὲ θυμόν)" (5.400):

> "...But Paiëon, scattering medicines that still pain (ὀδυνήφατα φάρμακα πάσσων),
> healed him (ἠκέσατ'), since he was not made to be one of the mortals...."[34]

That the gods themselves quarrel (over giving favour to mortals), and hurt each other in the process, is illustrated by Ares' encounter with Athene (5.825-909).[35] Again it is Paiëon who heals, this time at the

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30 The God of the Septuagint fulfils a similar role (see App. 6:1, 9, 36, 57 and 64).

31 In this example, he has been sent by Zeus to help Hektor.

32 *Iliad* 5.445-8

33 See below, chapter five.

34 *Iliad* 5.401-2

35 In this incident Ares assumes that Zeus will be angry at their "acts of violence (κρατερὰ ἔργα)" (5.873). This echoes Zeus' displeasure at the simile discussed above (n.14),

command of Zeus (ἀνώγειν ἰήσασθαι) (5.899). The language used to describe Paiëon's act (5.900-1) is the same as that cited above (5.401-2), and so assumes the form of an epithet, to describe Paiëon's character and behaviour. The language used to describe Dione's healing of Aphrodite is different. She heals by touch:

> "...with both hands stroked away from her arm the ichor,
> so that the arm was made whole again and the strong pains rested...."
> (ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμφοτέρῃσιν ἀπ' ἰχῶ χειρὸς ὀμόργνυ·
> ἄλθετο χείρ, ὀδύναι δὲ κατηπιόωντο βαρεῖαι.) [36]

Amongst mortals, Agamede,

> "...knew of all the medicines that are grown in the broad earth..."[37]

but in the *Iliad* it is the brothers Podaleirios and Machaon who are represented as healers, and blameless physicians. In the catalogue of ships we are told that the leaders of Trikka, Ithome and Oichalia, were the

> "... two sons of Asklepios,
> good healers (ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθώ) both themselves, Podaleirios and Machaon...."[38]

who commanded thirty vessels. But it is Machaon who is given greater stature as a healer, and who is summoned to tend Agamemnon:

> "... and he stood in the midst of them, a man godlike,
> straightway he pulled the arrow forth from the joining of the war belt,
> and as it was pulled out the sharp barbs were broken backwards....
> ...But when he saw the wound where the bitter arrow was driven,
> he sucked the blood and in skill laid healing medicines on it
> (ἐπ' ἄρ' ἤπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς πάσσε)
> that Cheiron in friendship long ago had given his father...."[39]

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illustrating the human notion that Zeus expected right behaviour from gods as well as men. Hera echoes this sentiment (5.757-9).

36 *Iliad* 5.416-7

37 *Iliad* 11.740

38 *Iliad* 2.731-2

39 *Iliad* 4.212-4, 217-9

From this we gain some insight into battlefield medicine,[40] and add to our knowledge of the skills and background of Machaon and his family. Removal of the foreign body, clearing of poison,[41] and the application of healing medicines are still common medical practice today.

Cheiron is mentioned several times in the *Iliad* as provider of medicines and weapons. In this way his character, like that of Apollo, is inherently paradoxical - they are both agents of healing and death.[42] He is first mentioned as having given healing medicines to Asklepios (4.219). We are told that he was the "most righteous (δικαιότατος) of the Centaurs" (11.831) and had also told Achilleus of kind (ἤπια) and good (ἐσθλά) medicines (11.829, 830), and given a Pelian ash spear to his father, Peleus, "to be death for fighters" (16.144; 19.391). Asklepios, although mentioned as a blameless physician (ἀμύμονος ἰητῆρος) (11.518), only figures as the recipient of Cheiron's teaching, and the father of Podaleirios and Machaon in the *Iliad*. Machaon himself is wounded in battle and immediately taken to the shelter of the ships, since:

> "...A healer is worth many men in his knowledge
> of cutting out arrows and putting kindly medicines on wounds...."[43]

This is a Homeric ploy to open the way for Achilleus to involve Patroklos in battle, and is thus the beginning of Patroklos' evil.[44] It is odd that although Podaleirios and Machaon are represented as the active blameless healers in the *Iliad*, and although Machaon treats Agamemnon's wound, and is wounded himself, it is Patroklos who stands out as the man of compassion and healing (11.822-848; 15.390-404). It is Patroklos who answers Eurypylos' plea for help and healing (11.828-831).[45] He has been taught the healing art by Achilleus (who had it from

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40 Wounds are described in great detail, and show a marked knowledge of anatomy. For example, see: 5.305-310 (Aineias); 8.325-8 (Teukros); 14.463-8 (Archelochos); 14.493-9 (Ilioneus).

41 Until recently the same method (sucking) was recommended by *First Aid* manuals for clearing poison in cases of snake bite.

42 Does this reflect the natural dichotomy in human nature, i.e. the potential for both good and evil?

43 *Iliad* 11.514-5

44 See above, 2.

45 Machaon, suffering a battle wound is himself out of the action at this time, while Podaleirios is engaged in battle (11.832-5).

Cheiron), and it is his treatment of Eurypylos' wound that is recounted in most detail (11.843-7).

He performs surgery, cutting the arrow out of his thigh with a knife; washes the wound with warm water and clears the blood; and applies a pain-killing plant, after pounding it. His efforts succeed in drying the wound and stemming the blood. After treating the wound in this way he provides post-operative care by remaining with Eurypylos: he sits with him, entertains him, and repeatedly applies pain-killing medicines to his wound (15.390-4). He does not leave his patient until circumstances dictate that he must; even then he leaves Eurypylos in the care of his henchman (θεράπων) (15.401-2).

Thus Patroklos fits much more the modern image of a holistic healer: he heeds the cry for help, he treats the wound, and remains to comfort and care for his patient. Machaon, in comparison, is more aloof. Homer describes him as "god-like" (ἰσόθεος) (4.212). He is summoned to treat Agamemnon, does so, and with spectacular results, for Agamemnon immediately goes back into battle. Machaon is efficient and effective, but lacking in warmth. He fulfils his role speedily, with the minimum of fuss. In this way he prefigures the Hippokratic physician, as portrayed in *Epidemics 1* and 3.[46]

Several words emerge in Homer's *Iliad* that continue to be an important part of the language of healing throughout Greek literature, and are later incorporated into the healing vocabulary of the *New Testament*. In the healing episode where Patroklos treats Eurypylos, Eurypylos uses the verb σῴζω in its imperative form σάωσον to entreat Patroklos' help. Σῴζω is a most significant verb in the language of healing. Here it is used to mean *rescue and treat*, and Eurypolos gives detailed instructions to Patroklos in a string of imperatives: save (by leading) σάωσον (ἄγων), cut ἔκταμ', wash νίζ', and apply πάσσε. Obviously he too knew how to practise battlefield medicine! Patroklos follows precisely these instructions.[47]

Another word that continues to be important in the language of healing, and is given prominence in the *Iliad* is ἰάομαι. This verb is used by Zeus

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46 Hippokrates (1972)

47 *Iliad* 11.827-47

when instructing Paiëon to heal Ares (5.899), and is also used to describe Patroklos' care of Eurypylos (12.2). ἀκέομαι is also used to describe the act of healing, by Paiëon (5.402, 901) and in Glaukos' request to Apollo (16.523). The verb θεραπεύω appears in the *Iliad* in its noun form θεράπων to mean henchman, or companion in arms, as Patroklos was to Achilleus.[48] So Patroklos leaves Eurypylos in the care of his θεράπων after treating his wounds. It does not figure in the language of healing in the *Iliad*, but in its connotation of "caring for" one can readily see how it later achieved such prominence in a general sense in the language of healing.

In the *Odyssey* [49] ἰάομαι is the most prominent word in the language of healing. It is used by the Cyclops (9.520) when he expresses the hope that his father Poseidon will heal him, and in Odysseus' reply (9.525), ridiculing this notion. It is also used (εὖ ἰησάμενοι) to describe the result of the treatment of Odysseus' boar wound by the sons of Autolycus (19.460). Otherwise its noun form ἰητρός is used to describe the physician; by Helen (4.231), and by Eumaeus (17.384). It is interesting here to note that the Homeric world knew the physician as one who gave public service, not attached to one master, but who worked for the people in general. Eumaeus describes the physician as being welcome the world over, and includes seers, carpenters and bards in the same category. Heralds are added later (19.135). As in the *Iliad*, θεραπεύω is used in its cognate form in the *Odyssey* to describe personal attendants of noblemen (18.297).

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[48] For a discussion of the meaning of this term, see Finley (1954) 54-5: "Just what it meant, in terms of customary or legal obligation and in a man's own familial life, to be a permanent but free member of the *oikos* of another is by no means clear. Negatively it meant considerable loss of freedom of choice and mobility. Yet these men were neither slaves nor serfs nor bondsmen. They were retainers ... exchanging their service for a proper place in the basic social unit, the household - a vicarious membership, no doubt, but one that gave them both material security and the psychological values and satisfactions that went with belonging.... The hierarchy of retainers, it should be added, reached very high indeed. As a child Patroclus was forced to flee his home. Peleus received him in his palace and 'named him retainer' of young Achilles...."

[49] There is not as much emphasis on healing in the *Odyssey*. Odysseus' companions do not survive his ordeals! However, there are interesting digressions: describing Egyptian medicine and an unknown drug (opium?) (4.219-237); and the successful use of an incantation to stem Odysseus' flow of blood (19.455-466, especially 457-8). Compare Sophocles *Ajax* 581-2. For other magical uses of song and poetry, see 13.2 and 11.334.

So Homer portrays healers as a useful and necessary part of the Homeric world. Asklepios is already famous as a healer in this world, and his sons, Podaleirios and Machaon, continue to practise the healing craft. Other mortals, such as Agamede, are especially skilled in the use of healing herbs. But perhaps all warriors were supposed to have some knowledge of war wounds and how to treat them. For example, Eurypylos gives detailed instructions to Patroklos concerning his wound, and although Patroklos is depicted as having superior knowledge (through Achilleus and Cheiron), he nevertheless follows Eurypylos' instructions. No doubt this is a stylistic device; repetition is one of the outstanding motifs of the *Iliad*. However, when Patroklos tells Achilleus of the wounded Achaeans (16.20-27), listing four outstanding warriors (Diomedes, Odysseus, Agamemnon and Eurypylos), he adds:

> "... And over these the healers skilled in medicine are working
> to cure their wounds...."[50]

This implies that there are healers, other than those already mentioned.

In this way mortals heal each other (but with knowledge from other than mortals), and Paiëon heals gods (wounded by gods). It is only Apollo who both hurts, and heals, mortals.

We have already seen that the gods' justice, as portrayed in the *Iliad*, appears to be quite arbitrary: it depends on which mortal the god is listening to at that time. For example, Apollo, the "most deadly of all gods" (22.15) seems uncaring about the effects his "justice" has on the enemies of those he loves (1.10, 43-52). His "justice" is generally depicted as the result of his anger (1.9). So man tries to avert his wrath by making propitiation in the form of offerings (1.66-7, 458-79). Other gods are also placated in this way (6.86-98, 115), at times without effect (2.419-20; 6.304-311). Even so, humans deem it important to give the gods their "due gifts" (24.425-8).

And so several important themes emerge from the *Iliad* that are pertinent to this study. The gods exist, and become personally involved in the lives of individuals. Moreover, the father of the gods, Zeus, is

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50 *Iliad* 16.28-9

seen to be the author of good and evil, and his son, Apollo, the author of sickness and health. Ultimately, Zeus is seen to be the author of destiny. Both Apollo and Zeus dispense their version of justice, a justice which may not conform to human desire.[51] Thus humans are very much at the mercy of the gods.

Where then could humans turn who wanted help in their suffering and a cure for their wounds and diseases? As we shall see the Greek world increasingly turned towards a new healing cult and a new god; a god who made his first appearance in heroic form in Homer's *Iliad*. This healing cult arose out of the deep human desire for a consistently benevolent deity, a deity to whom humans could turn in trust and hope at any time of crisis in their lives.

Several words have appeared in the Homeric language of healing: ἀκέομαι, ἤπια (φάρμακα) (*Iliad* 11.829), θεραπεύω, ἰάομαι, and σώζω, words which it will be profitable to trace in meaning and form as they appear in the language of healing used to describe the cult of Asklepios, the hero who became the Greek healing god.

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51 *Iliad* 2.411-20

Chapter Two

Asklepios

Originally a Greek hero[1] known as "the blameless physician" (*Iliad* 11. 518), whose sons[2] took part in the Trojan War, Asklepios became the Greek god of medicine.[3] His healing cult flourished in the Mediterranean world from the fifth century BC to the fourth century AD, and was so widespread that some early Christians regarded the god Asklepios, and his healing cult, as Christianity's greatest rival.[4]

Asklepios, like Jesus of Nazareth, is represented by all legends as being the son of a god (the healing god Apollo), and a mortal woman (Arsinoë, Coronis).[5] From the very beginning his interest and effectiveness in the healing art was stressed.[6] Even his birth was unusual from a medical point of view: he is represented as being brought into the world by Apollo, out of the dead body of his mother.[7] Thus Apollo used his medical knowledge to deliver him, and then gave him into the care of Cheiron the centaur,[8] the sage skilled in medical knowledge.[9] It is an

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1 Homer, *Iliad* 2.729-33. For a discussion of the heroic status of Asklepios, see Edelstein (1945) 2: 1-64.

2 Podaleirios and Machaon (Homer, *Iliad* 2.729-33). See above, 9-11.

3 Theodoretus, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* 3.24-28; Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 23.7; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 224.5; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2.24.62, 3.18.45; Porphyrius, *Epistula ad Marcellam* 7; Origen, *In Jeremiam Homilia* 5.3; Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 1.6; Celsus, *De Medicina, Prooemium* 2; Galen, *Protrepticus* 9.22; Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis* 15.153

4 Justin, *Apologia* 54.10, 22.6; *Dialogus* 69.3; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.25

5 Legends disagree concerning the identity of the mother of Asklepios. For Coronis: Pindar, *Pythiae* 3.8-37; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.542-648; Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 4.71.1-4; Cyrillus, *Contra Julianum* 6.805B-808B; Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 2.729; Homer, *Hymni* 16.1-5; *IG* IV^2 I, no. 128, iv, 40-50 [Isyllus; *ca* 300 BC]. For both accounts: Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.10, 3, 5-4, 1; Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 2.26.7; Theodoretus, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* 8.19-23; Scholia in Pindar, *Ad Pythias* 3.14. For Arsinoë: Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 3.26.4, 4.3.1-2. For other contenders (Epione, Xanthe): Scholia in Homerum, *Ad Iliadem* 4.195.

6 Homer, *Iliad* 4.219; Pindar, *Pythiae* 3.7, 47-53

7 Pindar, *Pythiae* 3.44; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.628-630; Servius, *Commentarii in Aeneidem* 7.761, 10.316; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 202.1-2

8 Homer, *Iliad* 4.218-219; Pindar, *Nemeae* 3.54-56; Scholia in Pindarum, *Ad Nemeas* 3.92, *Ad Pythias* 3.9, 79, 102b; Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 1.1-6; Philostratus, *Heroicus* 9; Justin, *De Monarchia* 6.23

9 According to Pindar (*Pythiae* 3.45-6)Apollo gave Asklepios to the centaur specifically so that the centaur could "teach him how to heal mortal men of painful maladies" (καί ῥά νιν Μάγνητι φέρων πόρε Κενταύρῳ διδάξαι πολυπήμονας ἀνθρώποισιν ἰᾶσθαι νόσους). See also Heraclitus, *Quaestiones Homericae* 15.

impeccable background for a healing hero who was later to be deified as the healing god of the Mediterranean world.[10]

We first hear of Asklepios in the *Iliad*. He is described as an aristocrat, the father of Podaleirios and Machaon, who were the leaders of the Greek contingent from Trikka in the Trojan War.[11] However, neither Podaleirios nor Machaon excel at the normal heroic arts.[12] Instead they are valued for their medical expertise,[13] expertise which they had inherited from their father, Asklepios.[14] Of Asklepios' "heroic" life virtually nothing is known, except that he was supposed to have been numbered among the Argonauts, and to have hunted the Calydonian boar, ventures which did not win him any outstanding individual glory.[15] Thus he was not renowned as a warrior hero in the Homeric sense, but as a medical man, interested only in conquering disease[16] and death.[17] This last was his undoing. According to legend he was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus when he dared to restore a mortal to life.[18] However, through his own death he achieved immortality, returning as a god to help suffering mankind.[19] As the healing god of the Mediterranean world Asklepios welcomed any who came to his sanctuaries for help, regardless of race, age, or status. Thus he became the only god to whom any person could turn for help, regardless of the nature of his problem, or his background. As such Asklepios was unique

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10 For a discussion of Asklepios' deification see Edelstein, (1945) 2: 65-138.

11 Homer, *Iliad* 2.729-733

12 Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 4.71 states that "they were exempted from the dangers of battle and from other duties because of their exceeding usefulness in the art of healing".

13 Homer, *Iliad* 4.192-219, 11.504-520; Scholia in Homerum, *Ad Iliadem* 11.515

14 Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 11.517

15 Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 1.21.105) cites Apollonius of Rhodes as his authority when he states that Asklepios and the Dioscuri sailed with the Argonauts. Hyginus (*Fabulae* 14.21) also mentions Asklepios as being among the assembly of the Argonauts. Hyginus also states that Asklepios was amongst those who went to hunt the Calydonian boar (*Fabulae* 173.1).

16 Pindar, *Pythiae* 3.1-53

17 Pindar, *Pythiae* 3.54-60; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1022-23; Euripides, *Alcestis* 122-29; Libanius, *Orationes* 20.8; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* 1.260-62; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.743-62

18 See n.10 above, and, in addition, Pindar, *Pythiae* 3.54-58; Vergil, *Aeneis* 7.765-73; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 49.1; Hesiod, Fr. 125; Euripides, *Alcestis* 1-7.

19 Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 1.6; Theodoretus, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* 3.24-28; Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 23.7; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 251.2, 224.5; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2.24.62, 3.18.45; *De Legibus* 2.8.19; Origen, *In Jeremiam Homilia* 5.3; Celsus, *De Medicina, Prooemium* 2

among the Greek gods for his constant benevolence towards mankind, for his constant availability to mankind, and the constant morality of his personal relationships.[20] The parallels with the life and work of the man Jesus of Nazareth, and with the post-resurrection nature of the Christian Jesus, are obvious.[21]

An important area of difference however is in the families of the two healers. Where Jesus collected a small band of disciples, and trained them, Asklepios and his family became the focus of the healing cult, and practising physicians claimed the title of Asklepiadae. The most important member of his family was his daughter, Hygieia, but his sons, Podaleirios and Machaon, and other daughters, Akeso, Iaso and Panacea, together with his wife, Epione, are also represented as being involved in healing activities. The women are all personifications of healing attributes: Hygieia (ὑγίεια, health), Akeso (ἄκεσις, cure), Iaso (ἴασις, cure), Panacea (πανάκεια, universal cure), Epione (ἤπιος, mild). There has been much conjecture over the origin and meaning of Asklepios' name, but the most likely explanation seems to be that it is based on ἤπιος with a prefix.[22]

Sources

There are three main sources of information concerning Asklepios: literary, epigraphical, and archaeological. The literary sources[23] are many and varied, ranging from the ancient Greek literary giants like Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aristophanes and Plato, through to early Christian apologists like Origen. As well, epigraphical remains have been found in all major asklepieia, and these range from inscriptions recording miraculous cures, to inventories of votives given as thank offerings for restored health, as well as inventories of building costs, and records of the

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20 As a god Asklepios was faithful to his wife, and raised a large family who continued his interest in the healing art.

21 These similarities were recognised by early Christian apologists who struggled to find differences. See Justin, *Apologia* 22.6: ὧι δὲ λέγομεν χωλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικοὺς καὶ ἐκ γενετῆς πονηροὺς ὑγιεῖς πεποιηκέναι αὐτὸν καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγεῖραι, ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ γεγενῆσθαι λεγομένοις καὶ ταὐτὰ φάσκειν δόξομεν. See also Justin, *Dialogus* 69.3; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.23; Ambrose, *De Virginibus* 3.176.7.

22 Some philologists argue that the name Asklepios is connected with the Greek word ἀσκάλαβος (a kind of lizard), and so developed from the serpent. For a discussion see Schouten (1967) 223.

23 For a collection of literary sources, including some inscriptions, see Edelstein (1945) vol. 1.

people who held priestly and administrative positions in the healing cult.[24] Archaeological remains too, such as votive reliefs depicting scenes of worship and healing, images of Asklepios himself, and of his family,[25] and the remains of the asklepieia buildings,[26] all provide information about this healing cult.

Thus a logical point of reference for the study of the Greek language of healing is the literary evidence surrounding the Greek god of healing, Asklepios. That the literary evidence survives in such a variety of forms (poetry, prose, inscriptions), from such a variety of sources (famous poets to anonymous priests and unknown patients), and over such a long period of time (fifth century BC to fourth/fifth century AD) is fortunate because, as much as is possible, the whole spectrum of humanity is reflected in the literary remains, rather than the thoughts of a few erudite (and perhaps atypical) minds. The literary evidence then is an exciting field of study.

Since the wealth of material is so great,[27] it would be impossible to study every literary source in detail. Therefore a study will be made of a selection of sources from four differing asklepieia: those at Epidauros, Athens, Kos and Pergamon. These four sites have been chosen because they differed in nature and function,[28] and because their literary yield enables a study of the language of literature (both poetry and prose), and the language of inscriptions, over a period of time. This makes it possible to study the changing nature of Asklepios the healing god in the perception of the people, and also to compare the language chosen to

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24 See *IC* I, *ID*, *IG* II-III^{1} 1-2, *IG* II-III^{3} 1-2, *IG* IV^{2} 1, *IG* VII; Aleshire (1989); Burford (1969); Edelstein (1945) vol. 1; Paton and Hicks (1891); Rouse (1976); and van Straten (1981) 65-151.

25 At the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, and the museums at Epidauros, Kos, and Bergama. See App. 3:1 for plates of reliefs and votives from these museums.

26 The sites at Epidauros, Athens, Kos and Pergamon have all been excavated, and work continues at Epidauros (under the direction of V. Lambrinoudhakis) and Pergamon (under the direction of Wolfgang Radt).

27 There were more than three hundred asklepieia in the Mediterranean world (see Merriam [1885] 358; and Walton [1894] 95). See also Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis* 15.153: Aesculapius ubique; Aristides, *Oratio* 38.21: ὁσαχοῖ δὲ Ἀσκληπιῷ εἴσοδοι ... παντα χοῦ γῆς. Many have yielded literary evidence of some kind.

28 The sanctuary at Epidauros was an international sanctuary which colonised all over the Mediterranean world (see below, 19-40); the sanctuary at Athens was local and later became a state cult (see below, chapter three); the sanctuary at Kos a medical school (see below, chapter four); and the sanctuary at Pergamon the cult focus of a major hellenistic monarchy (see below, chapter five).

describe that perception, with the language chosen to describe the perception of Jesus of Nazareth, the ultimate supplanter of Asklepios in the Mediterranean world.

Epidauros

History

The asklepieion at Epidauros is the oldest of the four sites chosen for study. Despite the Homeric evidence for Trikka in Thessaly as the birthplace of Asklepios,[29] later legend credits Epidauros as the origin of the healing cult.[30] Certainly the asklepieion at Epidauros became the major centre of pilgrimage in the Greek world, and the major colonising asklepieion. It was from Epidauros, for example, that the asklepieia at Athens,[31] Pergamon,[32] and Rome[33] were later established. The sanctuary was founded in a small valley[34] about two days' journey from the port of Epidauros, at about the end of the sixth century BC.[35] At Epidauros

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29 See *Iliad* 2.729-733, and 4.202-3. There is still debate concerning this. For a discussion, see Edelstein (1945) 2: 17-22. Current excavation at Trikka should yield answers regarding the age of the sanctuary there, and so supplement the literary evidence. See Theodoretus, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* 8.19, (cf. Apollodorus Atheniensis, Fr. 138 [Jacoby]) which states that "In Trikka first and in Epidauros he gave proof of his art (ἐν Τρίκκῃ δὲ πρῶτον καὶ Ἐπιδαύρῳ δοῦναι πεῖραν τῆς τέχνης)". Strabo, *Geographica* 14.1.39, and Hyginus, *Fabulae* 14.21, both cite Trikka as Asklepios' place of origin. Strabo, *Geographica* 9.5.17 also states that Trikka has "the earliest and most famous temple of Asklepios." Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 3.14.6, quotes Asklepios himself as citing "holy Trikka" as his place of origin, and that his mother bore him in wedlock to Apollo! However, Pausanias (*Descriptio Graeciae* 4.3.1-2), cites the Messenian belief that Asklepios was the son of Arsinoë, not Coronis, and that the Trikka referred to in the *Iliad* was, in fact, a desolate spot in Messenia. Thus the Messenians believed that the sons of Asklepios who went to Troy were Messenians.

30 See Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 2.26.7, where Pausanias states his belief that the story that Asklepios was the son of Arsinoë was "a fiction invented by Hesiod, or by one of Hesiod's interpolators, just to please the Messenians". As evidence Pausanias cites the answer, that Asklepios was born of Coronis in Epidauros, which the Pythian priestess at Delphi gave to Apollophanes, an Arcadian, when he asked about Asklepios' origin and birthplace.

31 See below, chapter three. See also, *SEG* 25.226 (the Telemachos Monument), and for a discussion of this monument, and a survey of the published scholarship concerning it, see Aleshire (1989) 6-13, and 6, n.3. See also Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 2.26.8; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 4.18.

32 See below, chapter five. See also Aristides, *Oratio* 39.5; Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 2.26.8.

33 In 292 BC, in response to the plague. See Livy, *Periocha* 11; *Ab Urbe Condita* 29.11.1; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1.8.2; Anonymous, *De Viris Illustribus* 22.1-3; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.622-744; Claudianus, *De Consulatu Stilichonis* 3.171-173

34 Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 2.27.1-7

35 Excavations have established that an altar and a sacred building for Asklepios were erected at the end of the sixth century BC. The asklepieion was excavated by P. Kavvadias 1879-1928, and more thoroughly in 1881-1889 (see Kavvadias [1891]); by the

Asklepios was regarded as healing in conjunction with his father Apollo.[36] This is verified by inscriptions dedicated to both Apollo and Asklepios.[37] Excavations have revealed a sanctuary to Apollo Maleatas on Mt. Kynortion, where Apollo had been worshipped since prehistoric times.[38] The asklepieion at Epidauros reached its peak in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, when it was a major centre for festivals and panhellenic games.[39] The festivals, known as the Asklepieia,[40] were held four-yearly, nine days after the Isthmia, between April and June.[41] Musical and dramatic contests were also held from the fifth century BC.[42] Liturgical music too had its place in the life of the cult, certainly in the Imperial period, and possibly well before.[43] The sanctuary was visited by

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French School of Archaeology in 1942; and by J. Papadimitriou (1948-51), who did additional research on the sanctuary of Maleatas; and by V. Lambrinoudhakis in recent years.

36 The Epidaurian sanctuary was built in the valley below the site of the ancient sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, which was situated beyond the theatre, on the summit of Mt. Kynortion. Thus worship of Apollo at Epidauros started on Mt. Kynortion, continuing there until Roman times. The Roman senator, Antoninus, renovated this ancient sanctuary in the second century AD (Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 2.27.7). At the same time he renovated the Asklepieion and "built a temple to Health, as well as to Asklepios, and Apollo, with the surname 'Egyptians'" (Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 2.27.6). The surname "Egyptians" reflects a hellenistic influence, an influence also visible at Pergamon at this time (see below, chapter five). The association of Asklepios with Apollo is not unusual. Other asklepieia were established over or near old Apollo temples, for example, (i) at Korinth (see Lang (1977) 3-4, who states (4) that "it seems likely that Asklepios joined Apollo first in a perhaps junior capacity ... perhaps [in] the 5th century B.C."; and (ii) Pergamon is mentioned in the *Iliad* (4.507-8, 5.445-8) as the site of one of Apollo's temples, and yet later became a major sanctuary of the healing cult. Nor is the medical association of Asklepios with Apollo unusual, given their relationship, and Apollo's arrangement for Asklepios' tutelage under Cheiron.

37 See, for example, *IG* IV^2 1, nos. 121-22 [2nd half of 4th c. BC], inscriptions of cures at Epidauros under the title of: Θεός Τύχα ἀγαθά | Ἰάματα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ; and *IG* IV^2 1, no. 127 [224AD]: Ἀπόλλωνι Μαλεάτᾳ καὶ Σωτῆρι Ἀσκληπιῷ.

38 See n.36 above, and for a discussion of the connection between Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios, see Edelstein (1945) 2: 99, and 99 notes 30, 31, and 32. Whether Maleatas was originally an independent iatric hero (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1931-32] 393f.), or a specific form of Apollo (Farnell [1907] 235f.; cf. Kerényi [1959] 28-32), Apollo Maleatas is connected with Asklepios: at Athens (*IG* II^2, no. 4962 [beginning 4th c. BC, (but dated 355-4 BC by Pritchett and Meritt)]), and Trikka (*IG* IV^2 1, no. 128, iii, 27-31 [Isyllos, *ca.* 333 BC]), as well as at Epidauros (*IG* IV^2 1, no. 127 [224 AD]).

39 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 40 [*ca.* 400BC], no. 41 [*ca.* 400BC]

40 Scholia in Pindarum, *Ad Nemeas* 5.94b

41 Scholia in Pindarum, *Ad Nemeas* 3.147

42 Plato, *Ion* 530A; *IG* IV^2 1, no. 128, iii, 32-iv, 56 [*ca.* 300 BC]

43 Suzanne Bonefas (1989) 62 writes concerning *SEG* 30.390, excavated at Epidauros in July 1977, that "however the music of this fragment is interpreted, its importance not only for Greek music but also for Greek religion should not be underestimated. The linking of *SEG* XXX 390 with *IG* IV^2 1, no. 135 yields a third set of hymns from the sanctuary at Epidauros. The presence of musical notation provides concrete evidence for the

Aemilius Paulus in 167 BC after the Battle of Pydna, who found "a splendid temple of Asklepios ... rich in offerings...".[44] Sulla was the first to loot the sanctuary, seizing "ex votos" (as at Delphi and Olympia) in 86 BC,[45] a practice that was continued by Cilician pirates.[46] However, the sanctuary continued to survive as a place of pilgrimage. Strabo found the temple at Epidauros "full of the sick".[47] Festivals were reintroduced in the Imperial period, and the sanctuary was renovated in the second century AD, through the generosity of the Roman senator Antoninus.[48] In AD 395 the Goths of Alarich invaded, and in AD 426 the sanctuary was closed, along with other pagan sanctuaries, when worship was forbidden by Theodosius II. Disused, the sanctuary finally fell into a state of disrepair, following the earthquakes of AD 522 and AD 551. By this time it had enjoyed a special place in the hearts of pilgrims for almost one thousand years.

Literary evidence

Epigraphical

Pausanias, describing the sanctuary at Epidauros, commented on the six stelae, still standing in his day, which recorded miraculous cures.[49] Some of these stelae were excavated by Kavvadias, who published their inscriptions.[50] They are temple records, testifying to miraculous healings, placed in the sanctuary so that all who visited the sanctuary might see and read them. They are thus an explicit temple proclamation

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performance of liturgical hymns and so gives a glimpse of the workings of cult ritual in the Imperial period. The existence of a means of musical abbreviation suggests that sacred music was probably standardized in this period. The apparently archaic features of this notation perhaps indicate that such a process of standardization had already begun before the Imperial period."

44 Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 45.28.3. Livy also states that the sanctuary in his time was "now rich in traces of broken votives".

45 Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 38.7; Plutarch, *Sulla* 12.3; Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 9.7.5; Appianus, *Historia Romana* 12.54. But cf. Polyaenus, *Strategemata* 5.2.19; Cicero, *Verrinae Orationes* 4.57.127-128

46 Plutarch, *Pompeius* 24.6

47 *Geographica* 8.6.15: καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πλῆρες ἔχοντος ἀεὶ τῶν τε καμνόντων καὶ τῶν ἀνακειμένων πινάκων.

48 Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 2.27.6-7

49 *Descriptio Graeciae*, 2.27.3: στῆλαι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ πλέονες, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἓξ λοιπαί. ταύταις ἐγγεγραμμένα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστιν ὀνόματα ἀκεσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ νόσημα ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἐνόσησε, καὶ ὅπως ἰάθη. γέγραπται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι." See also 2.36.1.

50 See (1891) and (1900).

of Asklepios' healing power, that is, propaganda for the healing cult.[51] It is to a consideration of the nature of their healing language that we shall first turn. Of these, only a selection with sufficient text to support a study of this nature will be considered.[52] For this purpose the inscriptions known as *Inscriptiones Graecae* IV^2 1, nos. 121-122 [2nd half of 4th c. BC] have been chosen. They describe forty-three healing incidents associated with the asklepieion at Epidauros.[53]

As temple propaganda these inscriptions should reveal something of the nature of temple medicine: that is, the running of the sanctuary itself, the sort of medical problems physicians were unable to treat effectively, healing methods, the origin and background of the people who came for healing, and, finally, they should provide a clue as to the meaning of general healing terms like ὑγιής, ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω.

The inscriptions are dedicated to "God" (θεός) and "Good Fortune" (Τύχα [ἀ]γ[αθά), and are described as cures ([Ἰά]ματα) of both Apollo and Asklepios,[54] implying that both Apollo and Asklepios played an equal part in effecting the cures. However Apollo is not mentioned specifically by name in the inscriptions, whereas Asklepios is specifically mentioned on eleven occasions.[55] However, forms of the indeterminate θεός occur forty-nine times, thirty of these occurring in two distinct formulae.[56] Three of the remaining nineteen occur in inscriptions where Asklepios is specifically mentioned,[57] while nine of the formulae occur in "Asklepios" inscriptions.[58] Thus it seems that the use of both names in the dedication is also a formula,[59] but that it is to Asklepios that individuals turn for practical help, given that Apollo does not play an explicit role in the healing episodes.

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51 Do they differ very much from the purpose and proclamation of the gospels in the New Testament?

52 The inscriptions now known as *Inscriptiones Graecae* IV^2 1, nos. 121-122 [2nd half of 4th c. BC]. Edelstein (1945) 1: 221-237, includes the Greek text, with an English translation. See also Herzog (1931)145-147.

53 See Apps 2:1 and 2:2.

54 See App. 2:1, Title.

55 Including the two times the sanctuary of Asklepios is mentioned in *IG* IV^2 1, no. 122: 33.

56 Variations of: (i) ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς occur twenty-five times; and (ii) variations of ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτας occur five times.

57 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 121: 10; *IG* IV^2 1, no. 122: 25, 33

58 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 121: 2; *IG* IV^2 1, no. 122: 23, 24, 27, 35, 37

59 See also *IG* IV^2 1, no. 127 [224 AD]: Ἀπόλλωνι Μαλεάτᾳ καὶ Σωτῆρι Ἀσκληπιῷ.

The first inscription shows a basic pattern of four steps: it states (i) the identity of the patient and the nature of the complaint, (ii) that the patient slept in the abaton, (iii) the result, and (iv) describes the patient's votive offering.[60] This pattern forms the basis, with variations, for recording most of the inscriptions, so is a convenient way to analyse the data presented.

Patient profile

Of the forty-three inscriptions, thirty-one describe male patients (twenty-six adults and five boys), males thus representing 72% of those who approach the god for help. Of the remainder, eleven describe adult female patients, and one describes the restoration of a broken goblet. Patients come from all over the Greek world, testifying to the sanctuary at Epidauros being the focus of pilgrims at this early date. For example, Hermodikos came from Lampsakos,[61] Heraieus from Mytilene,[62] Antikrates from Knidos,[63] Hermon from Thasos,[64] Pandaros and Echedoros from Thessaly,[65] Sostrata from Pherae,[66] Kleinatas from Thebes,[67] and an unnamed man from Torone.[68] Athens,[69] Aegina,[70] Keos,[71] Kios,[72] Herakleia,[73] Epeiros,[74] and Kirrha,[75] are also represented.[76] More locally, the Peloponnese is represented by patients

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60 For an outline of the inscriptions, based on these four steps, see Apps 2:1 and 2:2. Hereinafter reference will be made to the number of the inscription as recorded in these appendices for ease of reference.

61 App. 2:1, **15**

62 App. 2:1, **19**

63 App. 2:2, **32**

64 App. 2:2, **22**

65 App. 2:1, **6** and **7**

66 App. 2:2, **25**

67 App. 2:2, **28**

68 App. 2:1, **13**

69 App. 2:1, **4**

70 App. 2:2, **26**

71 App. 2:2, **39**

72 App. 2:2, **43**

73 App. 2:2, **30**. But it is not clear which Herakleia. See App. 1:1.

74 App. 2:2, **31**

75 App. 2:2, **38**

76 See Apps 1:1 and 1:2 for maps showing the locations of the asklepieia, and the cities of origin of the patients represented in the inscriptions.

from Halieis,[77] Hermione,[78] Pellene,[79] Sparta,[80] Troezen,[81] Argos,[82] Kaphyiae,[83] Messene,[84] and Epidauros itself.[85] Korinth is notable for its absence, but that is not surprising as its own asklepieion was flourishing at this stage.[86]

The diseases specified vary. Blindness, either from disease or injury, is the most common complaint, accounting for eight inscriptions, and common to both sexes.[87] Paralysis is an adult male complaint, affecting the fingers,[88] body,[89] and knees,[90] as is lameness.[91] Battle wounds are also a male complaint, as is to be expected.[92] Other male problems

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77 App. 2:1, 18; App. 2:2, 24 and 33. Inscription 33 describes the establishment of an asklepieion at Halieis, which is not surprising, given the demand from there for the services of the asklepieion, in comparison with other places. It is interesting for an account of the procedure followed: the (unexpected) arrival of a sacred serpent at Halieis after the patient had seen no vision at Epidauros, the curing of Thersandros, and the inquiry of the Delphic oracle by the people of the city as to the correct course of action concerning the return of the serpent to Epidauros, and the oracle's direction to establish a sanctuary in that place. This inscription also illustrates the colonising activity of the asklepieion at Epidauros at this time.

78 App. 2:1, 20

79 App. 2:1, 2

80 App. 2:2, 21

81 App. 2:2, 34. But note that the incident described in inscription 23 took place at the sanctuary at Troezen, and that Asklepios was summoned from Epidauros to perform a healing which his children were unable to accomplish. (Cf. the synoptic account of the healing of the epileptic boy: Mt 17.14-20; Mk 9.14-29; Lk 9.37-43.)

82 App. 2:2, 37

83 App. 2:2, 41

84 App. 2:2, 42

85 App. 2:1, 8; App. 2:2, 35

86 See Lang (1977).

87 App. 2:1, 4: an Athenian woman, blind in one eye, who was incredulous of the reported cures; 9: a man so blind that one of his eyeballs was missing, and others laughed at him for believing that he could be cured; 11: a man injured in a fall at the sanctuary; 18: a blind man who first sees trees, after the god opens his eyes with his fingers (cf. Mk 8.22-26); 20: a blind boy treated by one of the temple dogs; 22: Hermon of Thasos who was cured of blindness, omitted to bring thank-offerings, was blinded again as punishment, but cured when he again approached the god; 32: a battle wound causing blindness; 40: a battle wound which presumably caused blindness as the god treated his eye.

88 App. 2:1, 3

89 App. 2:1, 15, and see also App. 2:3; App. 2:2, 37.

90 App. 2:2, 38

91 App. 2:1, 16; App. 2:2, 35 and 36. Inscription 36 describes lameness inflicted by the god as punishment for disbelief and derision. When the patient is suitably remorseful he is healed.

92 App. 2:1, 12: a spear point embedded in the jaw; App. 2:2, 30: arrow wound in the lung; 32: spear wound in both eyes causing blindness; 40: spear wound under the eye, causing blindness (?).

specified are stigmata,[93] stone,[94] lack of voice,[95] leeches,[96] sores,[97] consumption,[98] internal abscess,[99] lice,[100] baldness,[101] external tumour,[102] insomnia from headaches,[103] and gout.[104] A father also approaches the god on behalf of his missing son.[105] Problems relating to conception and childbearing are the main female complaints, accounting for over half (54.5%) of the female maladies.[106] Otherwise worms[107] are the major female complaint. Blindness,[108] and dropsy[109] account for the remaining female problems. A broken goblet[110] is also restored, showing

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93 App. 2:1, **6** and **7**. Inscription **7** gives the only account of punishment by the god that is not reversed. Echedoros is punished for failing to deliver the thank-offerings entrusted to him by his friend Pandaros (**6**), lying about them to the god, and making (empty?) promises about his own thank-offering.

94 App. 2:1, **8** and **14**

95 App. 2:1, **5**

96 App. 2:1, **13**. This occurrence of δεμελέας is the only citation of this word in Liddell and Scott (1968). The cause of his illness is attributed to his swallowing the leeches, having been tricked by his stepmother who had thrown them into a potion which he drank. Is this the first appearance of the wicked stepmother (ματρυιᾶς) in healing inscriptions?

97 App. 2:1, **17**. This is an unusual inscription. The healing agent is a serpent, outside the abaton, in the daytime. The man's vision does not agree with report of the healing. Cf. the Archinos relief, Athens, N.M. 3369 (App. 3:1, **3**).

98 App. 2:2, **33**. See above, n.77.

99 App. 2:2, **27**

100 App. 2:2, **28**

101 App. 2:1, **19**

102 App. 2:2, **26**. This boy was treated by one of the temple dogs while he was awake (cf. App. 2:1, **20**).

103 App. 2:2, **29**. The god gives gymnastic instruction in this inscription, to great effect. Hagestratos won the pancratium at the Nemean games not long afterwards! For similar activities by the god at Pergamon, cf. Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 42.11 (App. 5:6, **16**).

104 App. 2:2, **43**. This man is cured by a goose while wide awake. The goose bit his feet and made them bleed.

105 App. 2:2, **24**

106 App. 2:1, **1**: a 5-year pregnancy; **2**: (i) conception, and (ii) a 3-year pregnancy. App. 2:2, **31**: conception; **34**: conception; **39**: conception; **42**: conception.

107 App. 2:2, **33**: a tapeworm; **25**: worms (two basins full); **41**: pregnant with worms.

108 App. 2:1, **4**: see above, n.87.

109 App. 2:2, **21**: in this inscription the mother slept in the temple on behalf of her daughter, who remained in Sparta, but saw the same dream. On her return the mother found her daughter in good health (ὑγιαίνουσαν). Cf. the NT story of the centurion's servant, particularly Luke 7.10, where the present participle of ὑγιαίνω occurs as the final description of the boy's health when the centurion returns home. App. 2:2, **24** also reports a parent approaching the god on behalf of a child. The child, in this case, is missing.

110 App. 2:1, **10**. This is a most interesting inscription. It is the only occasion in *IG* IV^2 1, 121-122, where an inanimate object is restored so that it is sound. The same word (ὑγιής) is used to describe the restoration of the goblet as is used in formulae to describe the restoration of people. For a discussion of the significance of this, see below, 32-4, 39-40.

that the god was not only concerned with treating human health, but was anxious to alleviate any human distress.

Healing methods

Healing methods are usually recounted as the patient's vision while he/she is sleeping, and occur in a regular formula: the patient slept "and saw a vision/dream. And it seemed to him/her that the god ...".[111] Dream visions include conversations between the patient and the god, commands from the god, or actions by the god and his helpers, such as touching, surgery, application of drugs, or other (sometimes bizarre)[112] behaviour.

Conversations between the god and his patients occur frequently. They reveal a god who has a sense of humour, as when Ithmonika was told she would get pregnant with a daughter, and was asked if she desired anything else. She replied negatively, and so was compelled to approach the god again after a three-year pregnancy in order to give birth.[113] Perhaps this inscription inspired patients to be specific in their requests. Conversations also reveal a god who has an ability to relate to all ages, as when the boy, Euphanes, promised to give the god ten dice if he would cure him. We are told that the god laughed, and agreed.[114] The god laughs on another occasion, as well as showing anger.[115]

Many conversations, like the one with Euphanes, concern the giving of votive offerings. Ambrosia of Athens is asked to give the temple a silver pig as a memorial of her ignorance in disbelieving the cures,[116] Pandaros is told to dedicate his headband[117], Echedoros is questioned about votive offerings and punished for his untruthful replies,[118] Hermodikos is

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111 Variations of the formula " ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς " occur as an introduction to accounts of healing methods twenty-five times. See above, n.56.

112 See *IG* IV^2 1, no. 122: 38 (App. 2:2, 38), where the god drove his horses and chariot around a patient suffering from paralysis of the knees, and trampled on him with his horses. The patient instantly gained control of his knees!

113 App. 2:1, 2

114 App. 2:1, 8

115 App. 2:2, 35

116 App. 2:1, 4

117 App. 2:1, 6

118 App. 2:1, 7

ordered to bring to the temple as large a stone as he could,[119] and Sostrata is told to send thank-offerings to Epidauros.[120]

Conversations between the god and his patients also deal with patient incredulity, as when a man who had expressed incredulity is told that his name in future would be "Incredulous" (Ἄπιστος).[121] Incredulity is prominent in a number of inscriptions. Patient incredulity is expressed and dealt with,[122] as is bystander incredulity,[123] and Kaphisias, who laughed at the cures is actually punished with an injury, although healed when he is suitably humble and remorseful.[124] These inscriptions show that contemporary Greeks were sceptical enough of the temple cures to warrant temple propaganda of this sort.

Inscriptions relate that the god healed with action as well as conversation. He performed surgery on battle wounds, extracting parts of weapons which were embedded in patients' bodies. Euhippos had the point of a spear extracted from his jaw after it had been embedded there for six years,[125] Gorgias had an arrow point extracted from his lung. It had been there for a year and a half, and had suppurated so badly he had filled sixty-seven basins with pus.[126] The man from Torone had leeches surgically removed from his chest.[127] Arata dreamt that a lot of fluid matter drained out of her daughter after the god cut off her daughter's head and hung up her body in such a way that her throat was turned downwards.[128] Aristagora[129] also dreamt that she had her head cut off. She slept in the temple at Troezen, and was attended in her dream by the sons of the god. They were unable to put her head back on, so sent to Epidauros for Asklepios. The following night Asklepios reattached her head to her neck, cut open her stomach, removed the tapeworm, and stitched her up again. This inscription shows that Asklepios is superior

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119 App. 2:1, **15**. See also App. 2:3.
120 App. 2:2, **25**
121 App. 2:1, **3**
122 App. 2:1, **3** and **4**
123 App. 2:1, **9** and **10**
124 App. 2:2, **36**
125 App. 2:1, **12**
126 App. 2:2, **30**
127 App. 2:1, **13**
128 App. 2:2, **21**
129 App. 2:2, **23**

in healing power to his sons, and that the sanctuary at Epidauros is superior to the sanctuary at Troezen. In this case Asklepios' sons were guilty of making an incorrect diagnosis, and an inability to complete their treatment successfully.[130] One wonders how much competition there was between neighbouring asklepieia. The inscription notes that the priest saw the evidence of mismanagement, 'proof' that the story is true!

Two other patients had surgery performed on their stomachs by Asklepios: a man with an abscess in his abdomen had it surgically removed, leaving the abaton floor covered with blood;[131] and Sostrata had worms which filled two washbasins surgically removed from her stomach.[132] At the time she was undertaking her homeward journey and was unaware that it was Asklepios who was the surgeon, until after the outcome was successful.[133]

Asklepios also healed with drugs. He cut Ambrosia's diseased eyeball and poured in a drug,[134] poured a drug into the sockets of the man who had no eyeball,[135] and rubbed down a herb and poured it into an eye injured by a spear wound.[136] He anointed the head of a bald man with a drug, and made the hair grow,[137] and gave a drug to Erasippe to drink which induced vomiting.[138]

Asklepios also healed with his fingers,[139] and by touch.[140] He led a father to the place where his missing son could be found,[141] stretched out

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130 Compare the disciples' inability to heal a patient in the synoptic account of the healing of the epileptic boy (Mt 17.14-20; Mk 9.14-29; Lk 9.37-43).

131 App. 2:2, **27**

132 App. 2:2, **25**

133 This seems an extraordinary thing to allow a stranger to do. Sostrata is an unusual case: she comes from further away than any other female patient, so was obviously in great distress to even think of undertaking a journey of this nature. She must also have possessed the financial resources to be able to do so, explaining Asklepios' command to send thank-offerings to Epidauros. She is also unusual in that she had no vision while at Epidauros (like Thersandros of Halieis, **33**), but had unexpected treatment on the road. We are told that "a man of fine appearance seemed to come upon her and her companions" (αὐτᾶι καὶ τοῖς ἑἱπομένοις ἔδοξε τὰν ὄψιν εὐπρεπὴς ἀνήρ). As in the accounts of dream visions the verb δοκέω implies a subjective experience.

134 App. 2:1, **4**

135 App. 2:1, **9**

136 App. 2:2, **40**

137 App. 2:1, **19**

138 App. 2:2, **41**

139 App. 2:1, **18**

the paralysed fingers of a man while he was playing at dice,[142] swept the lice from a man's body with a broom,[143] and taught another how to lunge.[144] He expected his instructions to be obeyed, no matter how bizarre they might have seemed, and did not easily tolerate cowards. When Kleimenes complained that a lake was too cold for a bath, Asklepios said he would not heal the cowardly, but only those who approached him with hope and trust.[145] He broke the crutch of a lame man and ordered him to get a ladder and climb as high as he could. When the man gave up, Asklepios was angry, and then laughed at him for being a coward. The man fulfilled his task in daylight.[146]

All these healing methods are recounted as the patient's perception of the healing process that occurred in the patient's dream vision. However, one inscription makes it obvious that a dream vision might not correspond to reality, although the end result is the same.[147] It is true that this vision and cure occurred in unusual circumstances: in the sanctuary grounds in the daytime, rather than within the abaton or temple at night. Thus, it would be unwise to generalise too much from this one inscription. However, there is certainly scope for suspecting that, while the cure is real enough, the inscriptions recounting dream visions might not even pretend to be a factual account of actual healing methods, but rather might be only a personal rationalisation and interpretation of a particular patient's healing experience. In this inscription the man fell asleep outside the temple on a seat. A snake came out of the temple and healed his toe with its tongue, but the man reported a vision of a beautiful youth anointing his toe with a drug.[148]

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140 App. 2:2, 31. The verb used to describe this touch is ἅπτομαι, the synoptic word for describing the healing touch of Jesus. See below, chapter nine, and Apps 7:12 and 7:13.

141 App. 2:2, 24

142 App. 2:1, 3

143 App. 2:2, 28

144 App. 2:2, 29

145 App. 2:2, 37

146 App. 2:2, 35

147 App. 2:1, 17

148 Cf. the Archinos relief, Athens, N.M. 3369 (App. 3:1, 3). For a discussion of the meaning of this relief, see Mitropoulou (1976a) 35-40. According to her (36) "the three human figures represent one person, Archinos, who came to the Asklepieion seeking a cure. As he was sleeping in the temple, the snake licked him and he dreamt that the god came and performed an operation...". Although this votive relief is dedicated to Amphiaros, a healing hero, and not to Asklepios, it is a good illustration of the difference between

Thus the difference between dream and reality is publicly acknowledged in this inscription.[149]

Patients can also be healed by temple serpents, temple dogs, or in one case, by a goose.[150] Serpents are instrumental in the healing process on four occasions. We have already noted the inscription that states that a serpent healed a man's toe with its tongue, while the man dreamed of a beautiful youth anointing his toe with a drug,[151] and the case of Thersandros, who was healed by a temple serpent after he returned home.[152] Serpents are also instrumental in fulfilling the desire of two women to become pregnant. Agamede of Keos dreamt that a serpent lay on her stomach, and afterwards she gave birth to five children,[153] and Nikasibula of Messene dreamt that the god approached her with a snake creeping behind him. She had intercourse with the snake, and within a year gave birth to two sons.[154]

Dogs also healed on two occasions, and both times their patients were boys who were wide-awake. Lyson of Hermione was blind, but one of the dogs in the temple treated him (licked his eyes?) and he went away

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vision and reality, a difference that was portrayed publicly in this relief, as the difference is acknowledged publicly in inscription **17** (App. 2:1).

149 Cf. however, Kerényi (1959) 33-34, who gives a different interpretation. According to him (34) this episode "is a kind of dream within a dream, an amplification reaching out for a still deeper meaning - the immediate experience of the divine in the natural miracle of healing."

150 The serpent was one of the attributes of Asklepios, and appears wound around his staff in statues and reliefs (see Plate 1, 41; App. 3:1, **12**; and the statuettes, Athens, N.M. 265 and 266). The serpent is also depicted in many votive reliefs coiled under his chair (see App. 3:1, **7**; and the votive relief, Athens, N.M. 1330); and around trees (see App. 3:1, **13**). At Kos Museum a snake appears coiled around the shoulders of a statue of Hygieia (Plate 9, 90); as well as wound around the staff of Asklepios (Plate 8, 89). Asklepios was thought to take on the guise of a serpent: this is the form in which he arrived at Athens (*IG* II^2, no. 4960a; *SEG* 25.226), and Rome (Livy, *Periocha* 11, *Ab Urbe Condita* 29.11.1), and, of course, Halieis (App. 2:2, 33). For a discussion of the role of animals in the healing cult, see Schouten (1967) 37-44.

151 App. 2:1, **17**. See above 29, and n.97. The verb used to describe the serpent's action is ἰάομαι, while ὑγιής occurs in the final formula. For a discussion of the use of these words see below, 32-40.

152 App. 2:2, **33**. Again the verb chosen to describe the serpent's action is ἰάομαι.

153 App. 2:2, **39**. The inscription doesn't specify whether this was a multiple birth, or a series of multiple births, or five single births over a period of years.

154 App. 2:2, **42**: presumably twins?

healthy.[155] Similarly, a boy from Aegina who had a growth on his neck was treated by one of the temple dogs. The dog licked him (the growth?) and made him healthy.[156]

A goose also healed a man who was suffering from gout. While he was wide-awake the goose bit his feet, and by making them bleed, made him healthy.[157] Thus animals assume an important healing role in temple medicine. Indeed these inscriptions imply that they were more successful than Asklepios' sons.[158]

Thus several themes emerge from a study of healing methods and dream visions: the importance of votive offerings,[159] and the importance of honesty[160] and humility, hope and trust when approaching the healing god.[161] Obedience was also required.[162] Where votive offerings do not figure prominently in the inscriptions, other tangible evidence of the god's healing power is offered: blood on the abaton floor[163], a dress full of vomit,[164] basins full of worms,[165] victory at the Nemean Games,[166] an arrow point,[167] a spear point,[168] leeches,[169] a sanctuary established,[170]

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155 App. 2:1, 20. The verb chosen to describe the dog's treatment is θεραπεύω, and ὑγιής occurs in the final formula. For a discussion of the use of these words see below, 32-40. The curative properties of canine saliva are discussed in Reinach (1884) 129.

156 App. 2:2, 26. Again the verb describing the dog's treatment is θεραπεύω, although ἰάομαι occurs in this account, as well as ὑγιής in the final formula.

157 App. 2:2, 43

158 See Schouten (1967) 37-44 for a discussion of the role of animals in the healing cult (cf. Kérenyi [1959] 32).

159 Votive offerings were vital to the survival and growth of the asklepieion, in whatever form they were given. Monetary assistance (as promised by Pandaros, 6 and 7) maintained the asklepieion, while votive offerings testified to the god's healing power and ensured a continuing flow of clients. Punishment is inflicted for failure to bring votive offerings as promised. (See Apps 2:1, 7 and 2:2, 22. Cf. Acts 5.1-11.)

160 Dishonesty is permanently punished (App. 2:1, 7).

161 The motif of patient disbelief is introduced and dealt with at the beginning of the stele (App. 2:1, 3 and 4), and bystander derision of a trusting patient, whose trust is vindicated (App. 2:1, 9). Hope and trust is emphasised (App. 2:2, 37).

162 App. 2:2, 27, 35, 37

163 App. 2:2, 27

164 App. 2:2, 41

165 App. 2:2, 25

166 App. 2:2, 29

167 App. 2:2, 30

168 App. 2:1, 12

169 App. 2:1, 13

170 App. 2:2, 33

babies are born.[171] Bystanders are used to verify stories[172] or marvel at miracles.[173]

The healing language of inscriptions

ὑγιής

The results of these healing episodes, despite their diverse nature and treatment, are described in surprisingly uniform language. Of the forty-three inscriptions, forty-two[174] record a healing episode of some sort, and, of these, twenty-nine record the wholeness of the person (or object) when they departed from the sanctuary with some form of ὑγιής. Otherwise their cure (or punishment) is precise: babies were born;[175] stigmata vanished[176] or were increased;[177] a man who arrived blind, and with only one eyeball, departed seeing with both eyes;[178] a man left holding his (genital?) stone;[179] a bald man's hair grew again;[180] a missing child was found;[181] a sanctuary was established;[182] and a lame man walked unaided and unhurt.[183] The word ὑγιής is thus a general healing term, and covers a surprising range of restorations. But what precisely does it mean?

ὑγιής regularly occurs in one of two formulae: (i) "at daybreak he/she departed sound" (ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε),[184] and (ii) "and (out of

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171 App. 2:1, **2**; App. 2:2, **34, 39, 42**

172 App. 2:2, **23**. The priest "sees" (ὁρῆι) the state of the woman.

173 App. 2:1, **5**. This inscription, concerning a voiceless unidentified boy, provides extra information about preliminary sacrifices, rites and the duties of temple servants. The boy is accompanied by his father, who is asked by a temple servant to bring the thank-offering within one year, if his son is cured. The boy replies in the affirmative, startling his father (ἐκπλήσσω). This healing occurred <u>before</u> a temple sleep. The role of the bystander exhibiting amazement is also important in New Testament stories, and in accounts of Vespasian's healing miracles (Tacitus, *Histories* 4.81).

174 There is only one inscription which describes a permanent punishment (App. 2:1, **7**). Otherwise, those who are punished are later healed, after they have shown suitable remorse (App. 2:2, **22, 36**).

175 A daughter (App. 2:1, **2**), a son (App. 2:2, **31, 34**), five children (App. 2:2, **39**), two sons (twins?) (App. 2:2, **42**).

176 App. 2:1, **6**

177 App. 2:1, **7**

178 App. 2:1, **9**

179 App. 2:1, **14**

180 App. 2:1, **19**

181 App. 2:2, **24**

182 App. 2:2, **33**

183 App. 2:2, **35**

184 See part (iii) of *Words* in App. 2:1, **3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 18**; and App. 2:2, **28, 29, 30, 32, 38**.

this) he/she became sound" (καὶ (ἐκ τούτου) ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο).[185] Sometimes both formulae overlap.[186] Otherwise ὑγιής occurs in variations of "the god made him/her sound".[187] Similarly Hermon was restored to health,[188] while another man woke up and was healthy.[189] A dog made a boy sound,[190] as a goose made the man with gout sound,[191] and another boy departed sound after being treated by a dog.[192]

Asklepios uses the word in the conversation of dream visions, to the boy who made him laugh,[193] and to his reluctant patient, Kleimenes.[194] Echedoros too tells the god what votive offering he would set up if the god would make him well.[195] When Arata returned to Sparta she found her daughter healthy.[196]

Finally, a bystander tells a dispirited porter that not even Asklepios in Epidauros could make his broken goblet sound again,[197] only to be proved wrong when the porter lifts it out of the bag and finds it sound.[198] This last incident provides a clue as to the meaning of the word ὑγιής. As the goblet was restored to its former unbroken and useful state, so patients must be restored to the health they had enjoyed prior to the

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185 See part (iii) of *Words* in App. 2:1, 5, 11, 13, 16; and App. 2:2, 23, 27, 40, 41.

186 As in App. 2:1, 13: ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ἐξῆλθε τὰ θηρία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων | καὶ ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο.

187 App. 2:1, 1: καί μιν ἔθηκε ὑγιῆ. App. 2:2, 25: καὶ ποήσας ὑ[γιῆ] | τὰν γυναῖκα; 36: αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ὑγιῆ ἐπόησε.

188 App. 2:2, 22: ὑγιῆ κατέστασε.

189 App. 2:1, 17: ἐξεγερθεὶς δὲ ὡς ἦς ὑγιής.

190 App. 2:2, 26: ἀφικόμενο[ν] | δ' αὐτὸν ποὶ τ[ὸν] θεὸ]ν κύων τῶν ἰαρῶν ὔ[παρτ]ᾳι γλώσσαι ἐθεράπευσε | καὶ ὑγιῆ ἐπόη[σε].

191 App. 2:2, 43: ὑγιῆ ἐπόη[σε]. I have been unable to find another healing incident involving a goose. This incident appears to be unique.

192 App. 2:1, 20: ὑπὸ κυνὸς τῶν | κατὰ τὸ ἰαρὸν θε[ρα]πευόμενος τοὺς ὀπτίλλους ὑγ[ι]ὴς ἀπῆλθε. Dogs play an important role in the healing cult, and are often depicted on votive reliefs, either sitting at Asklepios' feet, or under his chair, or frisking about other members of his family. See, for example, the votive relief from Epidauros (Athens, N.M. 1426) which depicts Asklepios, his two sons Podaleirios and Machaon, who are accompanied by dogs, three goddesses and two worshippers. According to Kerényi (1959) 32, there "is a striking equivalence of dog and snake in the Greek mythology of the underworld; their forms merge and their meanings as well ... both animals may express the same psychic content."

193 App. 2:1, 8: 'τί μοι δωσεῖς, αἴ τύ[κα ὑγιῆ ποιήσω;'

194 App. 2:2, 37: ὑγιῆ ἀποπ[εμψοῖ.

195 App. 2:1, 7: ἀλλ' αἴ κα ὑγιῆ νιν ποήσαι.

196 App. 2:2, 21: θυγατέρα ὑγιαίνουσαν.

197 App. 2:1, 10: τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδέ κα ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύ[ρ]ωι Ἀσκλαπιὸς ὑγιῆ ποῆσαι δύναιτο.

198 App. 2:1, 10: ἀνῴξε τὸγ γυλιὸν καὶ ἐξαιρεῖ ὑγιῆ τὸγ κώθωνα γεγενημέ[ν]ον.

onset of the specific problem about which they consulted Asklepios. Thus the word ὑγιής implies the restoration of a person or object to their original undamaged state of health or usefulness.

ἰάομαι

The verb ἰάομαι also occurs as a general healing term, but only in eight inscriptions,[199] and, of these eight inscriptions, ἰάομαι appears in six of them in conjunction with ὑγιής.[200] None of the patients were surgical patients. The two inscriptions which contain only ἰάομαι are those concerning Hermodikos of Lampsakos,[201] and Thersandros of Halieis.[202] Both stories have as their end result tangible proof of their validity. Hermodikos inscribed and erected a very large votive to the god as evidence of his healing power,[203] while an asklepieion was erected at Halieis, at the direction of the Delphic oracle.[204]

The incident at Halieis has one thing in common with another inscription, in that they share the same healing agent. A serpent[205] (ὁ δράκων) was the healing agent at Halieis, while a serpent (ὁ ὄφις . . . δράκων) also healed the man who slept outside the temple in the daytime.[206] In this last story, the man was put on the seat where he fell asleep by the temple attendants (τῶν θε‖ραπόντων), the serpent healed him with its tongue (ἰάσατο τᾶι γλώσσαι), and he woke up healthy (ὑγιής).

A dog is the healing agent in another inscription where the three general healing terms, ἰάομαι, θεραπεύω and ὑγιής, occur.[207] In this inscription we are told that a dog healed the boy from Aegina (Κύων ἰά|σατο παῖδα Αἰγινήταν). It treated him with its tongue while he was awake and made him healthy (γλώσσαι ἐθεράπευσε | καὶ ὑγιῆ ἐπόη[σε]).

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199 App. 2:1, **15** and **17**; App. 2:2, **22**, **26**, **29**, **23**, [36] and [37]

200 App. 2:1, **17**; App. 2:2, **22**, **29**, **23**, [36] and [37]

201 App. 2:1, **15**

202 App. 2:2, **33**

203 See *IG* IV^2 1, no. 125 [3rd c. BC], (App. 2:3).

204 Thus the Delphic oracle instigated the colonising activity of the cult.

205 Serpents appear in only four inscriptions (App. 2:1, **17**; App. 2:2, **33**, **39**, **42**). The last two aid conception in female patients.

206 App. 2:1, **17**

207 App. 2:2, **26**

The remaining four inscriptions detail actions of the god, including two punishments, gymnastic instruction and psychological counselling, as well as healing in each case. Asklepios healed (ἰάσατο) Hermon of Thasos who had come to him because he was blind.[208] When Hermon failed to bring votive offerings the god punished him by making him blind again (ἐπόησε τυφλὸν αὖθις), but restored his health (ὑγιῆ κατέστασε) when Hermon slept in the temple a second time. Unlike Echedoros,[209] Hermon is given a second chance. Presumably he brought thank-offerings on the second occasion. It is curious that the inscription omits the details.

Kaphisias[210] is also punished by the god, but his sin is not one of omission, as in Hermon's case, but disbelief and derision at Asklepios' treatments (θεραπεύμασιν). The verb ἰάομαι occurs twice, in comments attributed to Kaphisias, belittling the cures. The number of times ἰάομαι is used in this inscription is unusual. Both occurrences are supplied by Herzog,[211] as is the final (common) formula containing ὑγιῆ.

Hagestratos[212] approached the god suffering from insomnia, caused by headaches. The god healed (ἰασάμενος) his headaches, and taught him the lunge used in the pancratium. The treatment was effective, for Hagestratos departed healthy (ὑγιής), and not long afterwards won in the pancratium at the Nemean games.

The final inscription to be considered is that relating to Kleimenes of Argos.[213] Again ἰάομαι in this inscription is supplied by Herzog.[214] It occurs in the conversation which took place between Asklepios and Kleimenes in Kleimenes' dream vision.

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208 App. 2:2, 22

209 App. 2:1, 7. Echedoros committed the (unpardonable?) sin of lying to the god.

210 App. 2:2, 36

211 (1931): Καφισίας – – – τὸμ πόδα. οὗτος τοῖς τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ θεραπεύμασιν ἐπιγελῶν χωλούς,' ἔφα, 'ἰάσασθαι ὁ θεὸς ψεύδεται λέγων· ὡς, εἰ δύναμιν εἶχε, τί οὐ τὸν Ἄφαιστον ἰάσατο'; ὁ δὲ θεὸς] | τᾶς ὕβριος ποινὰς λαμβάνων οὐκ ἔλαθε·. . . ὁ θεὸς ὑγιῆ ἐπόησε.] This is the only occasion the infinitive of ἰάομαι appears in these inscriptions, here in its aorist form. But ἰάομαι also appears twice in App. 2:1, 17: ἰάθη ... ἰάσατο, in narrative rather than conversation.

212 App. 2:2, 29

213 App. 2:2, 37

214 (1931)

Thus ἰάομαι is the verb chosen to describe the result of actions performed by Asklepios, and the result of actions performed by him in his manifestation as a serpent. This verb is also chosen to describe the results of the actions of a temple dog and a goose.

In comparison, the verb θεραπεύω is used in a highly technical and specific sense. It only occurs in two inscriptions,[215] and both times describes the treatment given by temple dogs to boys who are awake. While it is explicitly stated in only one inscription that the dog licked the boy,[216] the inference is that this was the form of treatment on both occasions. Thus the verb seems to describe treatment, rather than cure, the cure in each case being described by ὑγιής, with ἰάομαι included as well in one inscription.[217]

The healing touch of Asklepios is described on only one occasion, when the god touched Andromache with his hand (μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν ἅψασθαί οὐ τᾶι [χηφί).[218] She had approached the god concerning children, and we are told that later a son was born to her. The verb ἅπτομαι is also the most frequently used synoptic word to describe the healing touch of Jesus.[219]

So what does the language of these fourth century BC inscriptions reveal about the healing cult, about the nature of the healing god, Asklepios, about the people of the time, and about the use of general healing terms?

Conclusion

The inscriptions reveal that the sanctuary at Epidauros offered treatment to pilgrims with a wide variety of problems from all over the Greek world.[220] As males are reported as making the longest journeys and

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215 App. 2:1, 20 and App. 2:2, 26

216 App. 2:2, 26

217 App. 2:2, 26. But relatives of the verb θεραπεύω: τῶν θεραπόντων and τοῖς τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ θεραπεύμασιν occur once each, respectively describing the temple attendants and the treatments of Asklepios. (App. 2:1, 17 and App. 2:2, 36)

218 App. 2:2, 31

219 See below, chapter nine, and Apps 7:12 and 7:13.

220 This sanctuary does not seem to specialise in any one area of treatment. Cf. the asklepieion at Korinth, where a large number of votive offerings of body parts, particularly hands and feet have been found, as well as male genitals and female breasts, leading one to suppose that the asklepieion there specialised in treating problems of locomotion and fertility (see App. 3:1, 17, 18, 20 and 22). But perhaps it is to be expected

account for 72% of the patients it can be concluded that males enjoyed far greater mobility at the end of the fourth century BC than females. This is hardly surprising. The case of Sostrata however is surprising. She made a long and expensive journey,[221] leading one to presume that she was both desperate, and wealthy. Her case shows that Asklepios is not confined to Epidauros, or even to a sanctuary. He can appear unexpectedly to patients anywhere and effectively practise his healing art.

The inscriptions also reveal that, to flourish, the sanctuary relied on monetary support from grateful patients, and that, if promised support did not eventuate, the patient could expect to be punished (usually only temporarily) with an appropriate disease or injury.[222] Nevertheless, Asklepios is not portrayed as a vengeful god, but as an approachable and forgiving god, as well as being capable of the human emotions of frustration, anger, and amusement. Even sceptical patients approach him with hope and trust, not fear. And Asklepios does not disappoint them. His treatment may seem bizarre at times, but it is always effective.

One would expect that only patients with particularly difficult problems would make the long trip to Epidauros, but the people represented reflect universal human desires: women want to bear children, the lame and paralysed wish to walk, the blind to see, the wounded to be healed, and distressed parents approach the god on behalf of their children. Patients include the sceptical, the credulous, the greedy, the timid, and the sensitive; parents, children, servants and war veterans. All were suffering in some way, whether physically or emotionally, and all turned to Asklepios for help.

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that people with problems of locomotion would patronise their local (and most accessible) asklepieion, and also that the local asklepieion would be more accessible to women (see, for example, Herodas 4, below, 71-5, and App. 4:4). However, where eye trouble is the most frequently attested problem at Epidauros, and Athens (see below, 46), surprisingly few votive offerings of eyes have been found at Korinth (but see App. 3:1, **18**). Perhaps different localities experienced different health problems. For an account of the votives excavated at Korinth, see Lang (1977) 15-27.

[221] She was carried on a litter, which means that the trip would have been slow, that her companions would have been numerous: she needed those to carry the litter as well as others to take care of supplies. As she was so sick, her own supplies would have been extensive, and obviously included such cumbersome articles as washbasins. She must have been wealthy.

[222] Cf. the stories of Ananias and Sapphira in Acts 5.1-11. The punishment of Echedoros seems light by comparison, and both Hermon and Kaphisios are given a second chance. Is the perception of Asklepios in the 4th c. BC of a more forgiving god than the perception of his Christian counterpart in the 1st c. AD?

The language and form of the inscriptions is uniform: the name and origin of the patient is cited, the problem identified and a case history given.[223] Healing methods and treatment are usually described as part of the patient's dream vision. Several words emerge as the general healing descriptive terms of these inscriptions. ὑγιής is the favourite word used to describe the patient's return to their former (undamaged) state. However the verb ἰάομαι also occurs as a description of the results of the actions of the god, serpents, a dog and a goose. In contrast the verb θεραπεύω is used sparingly, and only describes the treatment given by dogs to juvenile patients who are awake. The healing touch of the god is described only once, with the verb ἅπτομαι.

But do these words occur in later descriptions of cures at Epidauros, and, if so, is their meaning the same?

An inscription from over four centuries later which has survived in very good condition is that of the attestation of Marcus Julius Apellas, known as *Inscriptiones Graecae* IV^2 1, no. 126 [ca. 160 AD].[224] It illustrates both a change in medical technique and patient introspection not noticeable in the fourth century BC inscriptions, but exhibited in both inscriptions (as here) as well as the literature of the second century AD.[225]

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223 Several themes emerge in the inscriptions, and inscriptions can be grouped, or paired, according to theme. For example, there are four accounts of war veterans with battle wounds: two undergo surgery and depart holding the offending piece of weapon in their hands (App. 2:2, **12**; 2:2, **30**), while the other two both suffer eye trouble from a spear wound (App. 2:2, **32** and **40**). Two boys are treated by dogs while awake (App. 2:1, **20** and 2:2, **26**). Parents approach the god on behalf of their children: a mother for her daughter (App. 2:2, **21**); and a father for his son (App. 2:2, **24**). Bystanders play an important role, expressing scorn and disbelief (App. 2:1, **9** and **10**), amazement (App. 2:1, **5**), and amusement (App. 2:1, **19**). Failure to bring votive offerings features as the motive for punishment (App. 2:1, **7** and 2:2, **22**), as does disbelief and derision (App. 2:2, **36**). Patients depart holding tangible evidence of treatment in their hands (App. 2:1, **13** and **14**), clothing (App. 2:2, **41**), or left behind on the floor (App. 2:2, **27**). Cures are enacted off-site (App. 2:2, **25** and **33**). Women are treated for extended pregnancies (App. 2:1, **1** and **2**), infertility (by the god, App. 2:2, **31** and **34**; and by serpents App. 2:2, **39** and **42**), and worms (App. 2:2, **23**, **25** and **41**).

224 See Plate 3, 43. For the text and translation, see App. 2:4, and for an analysis, App. 2:5.

225 Although this inscription does not specifically mention a dream vision, a vision could be implied in the lines following ᾤμην (end of line 17, App. 2:4). Apellas exhibits striking similarities with his contemporary Aelius Aristides (see below, 101-9).

The form of the inscription follows a similar pattern to the earlier inscriptions: the patient is identified by name and origin, and a short case history given. He has come a long way - from Mylasa[226] - at the command of the god, suffering from chronic ill health and dyspepsia. On his way he visited the asklepieion at Aegina.[227] His treatment at Epidauros, (undertaken as the result of conversations with the god), is described in much greater detail than the earlier inscriptions, and is more Hippokratic in content,[228] requiring changes in diet,[229] exercise,[230] personal hygiene,[231] and temperament.[232] Instructions from the priest concerning votive offerings are noted,[233] and fulfilled, and the result is that the patient departed well (ὑγιής).

Apellas illustrates a different sort of patient to the ones we have seen earlier: instead of a quick-fix he undergoes extended treatment, requiring time, effort and follow-up consultations with the god. He seems to be a wealthy hypochondriac. The priest has to tell him when he is better and the time has come to pay up!

The healing language of the inscription is similar to earlier inscriptions in that the same words occur. The inscription ends with the words "Full of gratitude and having become healthy I departed" (χάριν εἰδὼς καὶ ὑγιὴς γενόμενος ἀπηλλάγην), echoing the language of earlier final formulae. When the patient's blistered hand recovers its former soundness, it is described in the same terms: "the hand became sound" (ὑγιὴς ἡ χεὶρ ἐγένετο).[234] When the god touches the patient, his touch is again

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226 Mylasa is inland from Miletus (see App. 1:1), so this patient has the time and wealth to make a pilgrimage of this nature. Since he could have gone to the asklepieion at Pergamon, we must assume that he had a specific "call" to Epidauros. Thus the sanctuary at Epidauros is still the focus of pilgrims from afar at this date.

227 It is to this asklepieion that Bdelykleon, in desperation, takes his father, Philokleon, in Aristophanes *Wasps* (122-123). See below, 44, n.1. Thus this asklepieion had been active for at least six centuries by the time Apellas visited it.

228 See below, 75-83, and App. 4:1.

229 To eat cheese and bread, celery and lettuce, to take milk with honey, and to use dill with olive oil for headaches.

230 To press against the wall in the bath (similar to modern hydrotherapy?), to walk in the upper portico, to take passive exercise, to walk around barefoot, to practise running.

231 To bathe without help.

232 The god tells him not to be so irritable, and on two occasions to bathe without help (as well as to give an Attic drachma to the bath attendant).

233 These instructions could be part of a "vision", following φῶμην (end line 17, App. 2:4).

234 This adjective (ὑγιής) also appears as a predicative adjective in Matthew's account of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand (Mt 12.13), describing the

described with a form of ἅπτομαι (ἥψατο). However, the word translated as "cured" in the priest's saying "You are cured, and must now pay up the thank offerings" (τεθεράπευσαι, χρὴ δὲ ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ἴατρα) is the perfect passive form of θεραπεύω, a particularly appropriate word, and tense, to describe the result of the extensive treatment (both physical and emotional) that the patient has undergone.

Thus, while again ὑγιής describes the restoration of a patient, or a limb, to a former functioning state of health, θεραπεύω now describes the result of extensive treatment, treatment that has been both physical and psychological. In this way θεραπεύω, while still retaining the idea of nurturing and caring treatment so obvious in the θεράπων of Homeric times, and the idea of physical treatment exemplified above by the treatment of the temple dogs, now seems to include a psychological dimension. This is an important addition in meaning, and a difference that seems to have occurred in the intervening centuries between the two inscriptions.

But does the healing language of other asklepieia echo that of Epidauros, in form and meaning?

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restoration of the man's hand to its original state: "it was restored whole, like the other" (καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ὑγιὴς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη). Thus the use of ὑγιής in *Matthew*, and in this inscription reflect each other, in form and meaning. For a discussion of the use of ὑγιής in the New Testament, see below, chapter nine.

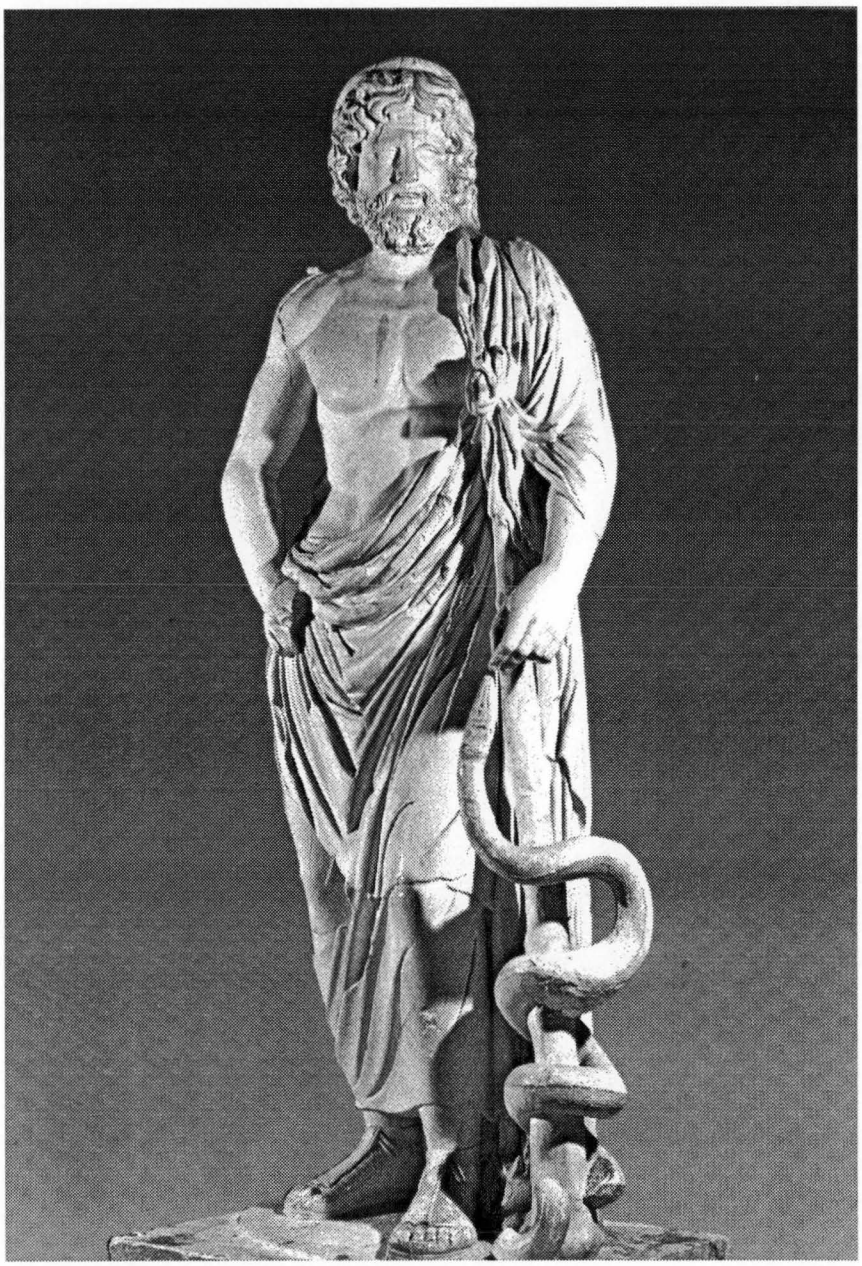

Plate 1. Statue of Asklepios from Epidauros (4th century BC) (Athens, N.M 263)

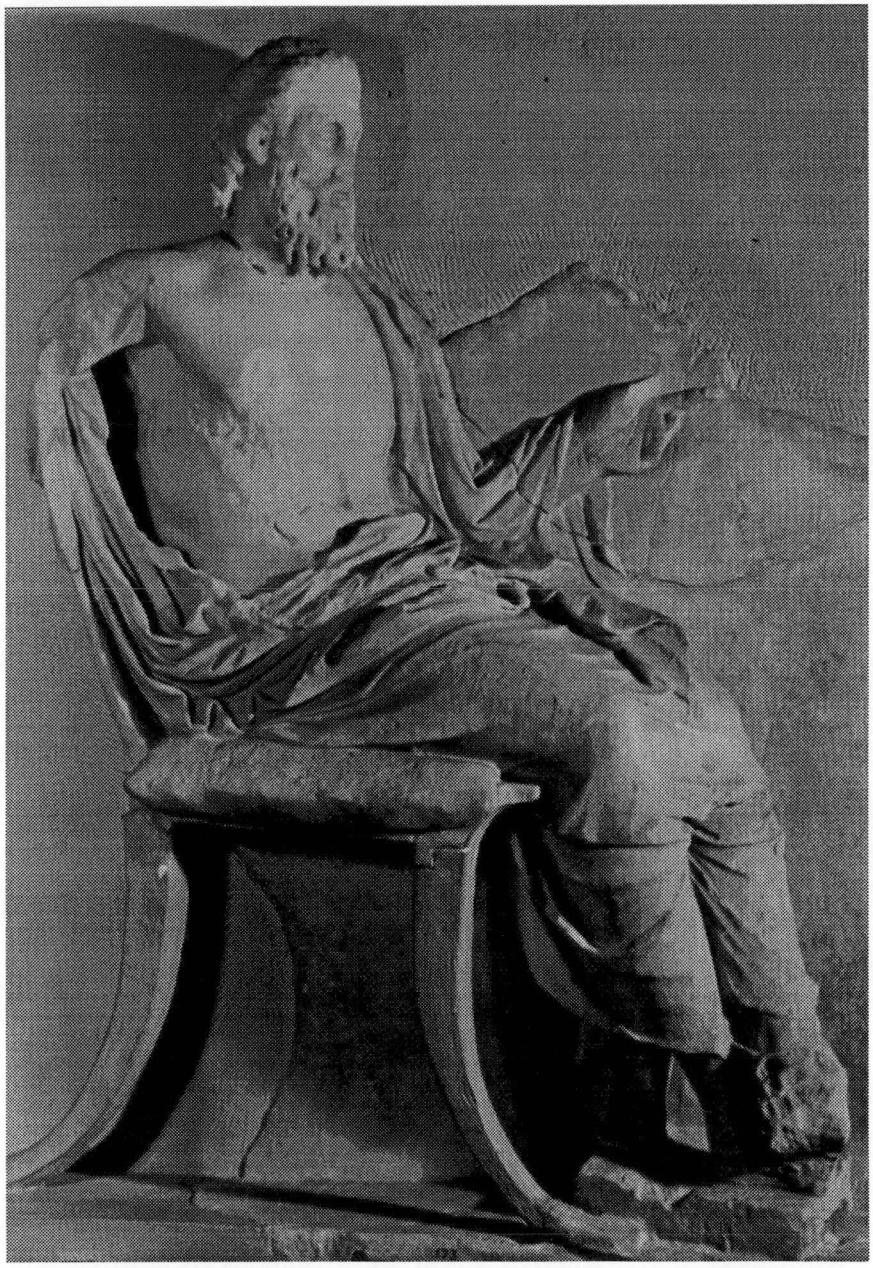

Plate 2. Votive relief from the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros representing Asklepios seated on a throne, arm raised in greeting. (Probably the type of cult statue of Asklepios placed in the interior of the temple) (4th century BC) (Athens, N.M. 173)

Plate 3. Inscription of Apellas *Inscriptiones Graecae* IV^2 1, no.126 [ca. 160 AD] (For text and translation see Appendix 2:4) (Epidauros Museum)

Chapter Three

Asklepios at Athens

The god Asklepios arrived at Athens from Epidauros in the late fifth century, probably in the year 420/419 BC,[1] and took up residence on the southern slopes of the acropolis.[2] At first the asklepieion was private in nature, but about the middle of the fourth century BC it became a state cult.[3] Thus the asklepieion at Athens differed in both nature and function from the asklepieion at Epidauros, in that it was a sanctuary that catered primarily for the local population, and was administered by the people of Athens for most of its existence.[4]

There are three important sources of information for the activities of this asklepieion that survive in a quantity sufficient to show the nature of the patients who patronised this asklepieion, and the duration of its popularity. These are, firstly, the epigraphical evidence, which includes inscriptions of decrees,[5] inventories of votive offerings,[6] and the contract and specifications for the construction of a building;[7] secondly, the

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1 It is unlikely that the journey to the Peloponnese to fetch the god could have been made during the early years of the Archidamian War, and Aristophanes, in *Wasps* (122-3), makes Philokleon take his father Bdelykleon to Aegina to sleep in the temple of Asklepios there, as a last attempt to cure him of his litigious mania. This suggests that there was no Athenian asklepieion at the time the play was performed in 422 BC. Since the Telemachos Monument (*SEG* 25.226) records that Telemachos, a private citizen, founded a sanctuary of Asklepios before 419-418 BC, and conditions would have improved after the Peace of Nikias, the year 420-419 BC seems the most probable date for the founding of the sanctuary. For a thorough discussion of the recent scholarship concerning this monument, see Aleshire (1989) 7, n.3.

2 Most of the fragments of the Telemachos Monument were found in this area, which argues for Telemachos having founded the city asklepieion.

3 Aleshire (1989) 14, n.3, defines a state cult as "one where the Athenian demos and boule, either directly or through their agents, exercise some supervision over the presence and disposition of the votives dedicated in a sanctuary." For a discussion, see Aleshire (1989) 14-15.

4 The dates of the inscriptions from the asklepieion range from the end of the fifth century BC to the end of the third century AD, while a literary source (Marinos, *Vita Procli* 29) makes it obvious that the asklepieion was still active in the fifth century AD. Thus the asklepieion survived as an active sanctuary for over eight centuries.

5 For a selection of these decrees, with plates and commentary, see Hubbe (1959) 169-201, and App. 3:2.

6 See (i) Aleshire (1989) 112-369, for a reproduction of inventories, with translation and commentary; and (ii) van Straten (1981) 65-151.

7 See *IG* II^2, no. 1685 [300-299 BC].

archaeological evidence which includes the site itself,[8] and a very interesting collection of reliefs,[9] and, thirdly, references to the asklepieion at Athens in literature.[10] All three sources of information will be drawn on in this chapter, in an effort to try to understand the role of Asklepios in a local setting. For a study of the vocabulary of healing language at Athens, healing terms which appear in the epigraphical and literary evidence relating to the asklepieion will be noted, and their use by other Athenian authors will be discussed.[11]

It is at once obvious that the asklepieion at Athens was patronised by families. Votive reliefs of family groups approaching the god abound,[12] as do inscriptions erected on behalf of children.[13] Thus this asklepieion immediately exudes a particularly local and familial quality.[14] The "family", as depicted on reliefs, generally includes both parents, several children, and a servant.[15]

The illnesses suffered by these people can perhaps be best illustrated by an analysis of the inventories of the dedications.[16] These show that body

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8 See Aleshire (1989) 7-36 for a discussion of the history and topography of the site.

9 See the collection in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, and App. 3:1. For a list of the published work concerning them, see Aleshire (1989) 6, n.1.

10 This is slight, but continuous. See, for example, Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 620-1, and Scholia in Aristophanem, *Ad Plutum* 621; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.13.3; Pliny, *Natural History* 2.103(106).225; Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 1.21.4-5; Lucian, *Piscator* 42; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 7.13; Marinos, *Vita Procli* 29.

11 Terms that appear in the epigraphical and literary evidence concerning the asklepieion, forming the bones, as it were, of a skeleton, can thus be fleshed out by reference to their use by contemporary Athenian authors.

12 For example, the votive reliefs from the asklepieion in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, especially 1331, 1333, 1334, 1345, 1377, 1384, 1407, 1408, and 1503 (1331 and 1334 are both good examples of Christian mutilation). See App. 3:1, 9-12.

13 See, for example, *IG* II^2, nos. 4403, 4412, 4429, 4474.

14 See Aleshire (1989) 52-71, for a prosographic analysis of the people connected with the asklepieion. Her study shows that there were certain Athenian families who (63) "had a tradition of participation in the cult of Asklepios".

15 See n.12 above, and especially, (i) Athens, N.M. 1408: a poignant family scene, which shows a mother, kneeling in front of Asklepios, pleading with him, a father with his hand raised in greeting, three children, and a servant with a basket of goodies (see App. 3:1, **11**); and (ii), Athens, N.M. 1384: a father giving something to a temple attendant, accompanied by his wife, three children, and a servant with a basket of goodies. This is a very realistic family scene: the older child, standing behind the mother, strains forward, watching intently, while the two younger children fidget, and chat to each other (see Plate 6, 67; and App. 3:1, **10**).

16 For the inventories from the asklepieion, with a translation, commentary, and analysis, see Aleshire (1989) an excellent work, on which the following general comments concerning the inventories are based:

parts formed the largest class of dedication, and that, while all parts of the body were represented, the dedication of eyes far outnumbered other parts of the body.[17] Thus, although, as we have seen, eye problems accounted for the greatest number of patients at Epidauros, it is possible to speculate that eye problems were even more prevalent at Athens, although these problems may have been specific to the middle of the third century BC.[18] Otherwise fingers, feet, heads, abdomens, chests, breasts, and genitalia were dedicated, possibly reflecting health problems similar to those cited on the stelae at Epidauros.[19] However some votive body parts - a bladder, back, hearts, hips, jaws, mouth and neck - are peculiar to Athens.[20] Coins,[21] typoi,[22] crowns,[23] cult equipment,[24] medical equipment[25] and jewellery[26] were also dedicated, but these give no clue as to the nature of the patients' diseases. Names of dedicants however, preserved in the inventories, do yield information concerning the gender,[27] and sometimes even the social class of the dedicant.[28] Female dedicants outnumber male, in sharp contrast to the inscriptional evidence from Epidauros,[29] but since the discrepancy between dedications

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17 Rouse (1902) 212, and, more recently van Straten (1981) 149-50, have assumed that this points to the asklepieion at Athens successfully specialising in eye problems. However, Aleshire (1989) 42, has pointed out that the numbers of eyes as votive offerings are concentrated in Inventory 5, thus preventing generalisations of this nature. She offers two possible explanations: (i) that eyes being small dedications had been liquidated, and were therefore absent from the other inventories; or (ii), that "visual problems were for some reason especially prevalent in Athens ca. 250B.C." The Hippokratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* in Hippokrates (1972) emphasises the local (and seasonal) nature of disease in the ancient world, an argument that would support the notion that eye disease at Athens was both particular (in time) and local (in extent). But see Grmek (1989), for a fascinating study of diseases in the ancient Greek world from a medical and philological standpoint.

18 But note the case of Ambrosia from Athens, who made the pilgrimage to Epidauros, suffering from blindness in one eye. See App. 2:1, 4.

19 It is dangerous to generalise however, as these votives could signify disease, injury, or, in the cases of the breasts and genitalia, a desire for children.

20 See Aleshire (1989) 41, and van Straten (1981) 110-112, especially 'f', 'g-h', 'j', and 'p-q'. But van Straten notes that the hearts and bladder "are the only internal organs mentioned in the inscriptions from the Athenian Asklepieion" (111: 'p-q').

21 See Aleshire (1989) 43.

22 ibid. 43

23 ibid. 43-4

24 ibid. 44

25 ibid.

26 ibid.

27 ibid. 45-6

28 ibid. 52-71

29 See above, 21-38, and Apps. 2:1 and 2:2.

on a gender basis only varies between less than two per cent to less than thirteen percent, patronage of the asklepieion reflects a healthy gender balance.[30] The greater patronage of women at Athens, compared with Epidauros, probably reflects the easier accessibility of the local asklepieion, and its familial nature.

Healing methods

Since the epigraphical evidence has not yielded anything like the detail of the accounts of temple healing at Epidauros it is to the playwright Aristophanes, and to the archaeological evidence in the form of votive reliefs that we must turn for evidence of Asklepios' healing methods at Athens. A relief from the Athenian asklepieion shows Asklepios in the act of healing, although it is not obvious what his healing action entails.[31] Another relief, from the Piraeus asklepieion, is far more explicit. It shows Asklepios touching his patient, and it is obvious from his stance and muscle tone that the touch is not a mere pat, but involves some physical effort.[32] Yet another relief shows two people lifting a patient onto a bed while Asklepios leans forward, presumably to touch the patient.[33] Thus, as at Epidauros, Asklepios heals by touch in some cases.[34]

Another relief shows a woman giving a man a footbath, while Hygieia watches.[35] Bathing may have been part of his medical treatment, or part of the required ritual prior to incubation, noted in Aristophanes' *Ploutos*.[36] In *Ploutos*, Aristophanes depicts an incubation scene at an

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30 See Aleshire (1989) 45-6.

31 See Athens, N.M. 1841 (App. 3:1, 5). This relief is dated to the end of the 5th century BC. Hippokrates (1990) 68 (Letter 15) describes how "the god stretched out his hand to me (ἔπειτα ὤρεξέ μοι τὴν χεῖρα ὁ θεός)", a gesture consistently portrayed in reliefs. See Plate 2, 42; and App. 3:1, 5. The orator Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 42.10 [App. 5:6. 15]) also reports how the god stretched out his hand (ὁ θεὸς χεῖρα ὤρεξεν) to people in danger at sea.

32 See Piraeus Archaeological Museum, 405 (App. 3:1, 4). The patient is lying on a couch, her family (two men, a woman and a child) watch while Asklepios massages (or manipulates?) her neck or shoulder. Hygieia stands behind Asklepios, watching.

33 Unfortunately the top half of this relief is missing, so it is not certain just what is happening. See Athens, N.M. 2373 (App. 3:1, 6).

34 The word chosen to describe Asklepios' touch is ἅπτομαι (Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 728), as at Epidauros (Apps 2:2, 31, and 2:4; and above, 36, 38-40).

35 See Athens, N.M. 1914 (App. 3:1, 8).

36 See Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 656-658. Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* 5.13.3 also notes that patients may not go to the temple of Asklepios before they have bathed.

asklepieion.[37] Since the description comes out of the mouth of the slave, Carion, and his function is to provide comic relief in the play, his description must be treated with caution. Nevertheless it must be genuine enough to be credible to his audience and is therefore useful as an early account of incubation, and the healing methods of Asklepios.[38]

Carion describes (633-747) the healing of Wealth thus: he bathed, went to the temple, made an offering on the altar of honey-cakes and bakemeats,[39] and then, with his companions, and many other sick people, lay down in the temple to sleep. The temple servant put out the lights and told the people to go to sleep. Carion, unable to sleep, saw the priest removing food from the altars;[40] he also saw Asklepios' daughters, Iaso and Panakeia, and he saw Asklepios doing his rounds,[41] accompanied by a servant who carried a stone pestle and mortar, and medicine box.[42] Carion describes how Asklepios mixed and applied medicines to the other patients in the asklepieion.[43] All these events Carion describes as reality, not vision.[44] However, his account of the

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37 There is some ambiguity about the identity of this asklepieion. The scholia identifies it thus: εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τὸν ἐν ἄστει λέγει Ἀσκληπιόν· δύο γάρ εἰσιν, ὁ μὲν ἐν ἄστει, ὁ δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ. However, see Aleshire (1989) 13, for a discussion of the problem. See also App. 3:2, 11 (ii), lines 5-6, 17.

38 *Ploutos* was produced in 388 BC.

39 For an illustration of this from the asklepieion at Athens, see the votive relief, Athens, N.M. 1335 (App. 3:1, **13** and **14**). Dated ca. 330 BC, it shows a family sacrificing to Asklepios: in the background, the goddess Hygieia, and a serpent descending a tree; on the altar, fruit and cakes.

40 See van Straten (1981) 86, for a discussion of the legal right of the priest to collect sacrificial cakes and fruit, as illustrated in the votive relief Athens, N.M. 1335 (see n.39 above, and App. 3:1, **13** and **14**), and described here by Aristophanes.

41 μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐνεκαλυψάμην
δείσας, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τὰ νοσήματα
σκοπῶν περιῄει πάντα κοσμίως πάνυ.
ἔπειτα παῖς αὐτῷ λίθινον θυείδιον
παρέθηκε καὶ δοίδυκα καὶ κιβώτιον. (707-711)
The verb σκοπέω occurs in an intensified form, ἐπισκοπουμένην, in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, 13, as the start of a medical metaphor, which culminates in line 17: ἐντέμνων ἄκος (incising a cure). Cf. ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι meaning to *watch over the sick bed* (Demosthenes, *Against Neaera* 56): τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ νόσῳ φέρουσαι καὶ ἐπισκοπούμεναι.

42 Hippokrates (1990) 68 (Letter 15) also describes Asklepios, serpents, and associates carrying boxes of drugs (φαρμάκων).

43 This reflects healing practices as related by the inscriptions at Epidauros. See *IG* IV^2 1, nos. 121 and 122 (Apps. 2:1 and 2:2, especially **4, 19, 40**).

44 Carion does not introduce his account with δοκέω, (cf. Apps 2:1 and 2:2, and for a discussion of dream "visions"see above, chapter two) and when he is questioned as to his ability to see what was going on, he claims that he watched through the holes in his cloak (713-715)!

healing of Wealth is reported as a vision: Wealth was healed by two serpents (summoned by Asklepios) who licked his eyes.[45]

The similarities of this account with the inscriptional evidence of temple healings at Epidauros recorded as dream visions, is striking. It is interesting too, that, except for his description of the actions of the serpents, Carion does not claim that he saw a vision, but that he saw reality.[46]

Healing language

While Aristophanes' play *Ploutos* is helpful for an account of Asklepios' healing methods, and for an account of temple incubation (albeit for comic effect), he does not choose general healing terms to describe these events. Instead he prefers to play on the meanings associated with blindness and sight.[47] Apollo is both a physician and a prophet (ἰατρὸς ὢν καὶ μάντις)[48] who instructs Chremylos to follow the first man he sees, a man who happens to be blind! When Wealth is cured, his cure is described in terms of sight, not with a general healing term.[49]

Inscriptional evidence is somewhat more helpful. Healing terms which appear in Homer also appear in Athenian inscriptions, but as the personifications of Asklepios' family.[50] Other healing terms appear in the language of votive dedications and state decrees.

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45 Here Carion does describe the serpents' actions with a disclaimer in the form of δοκέω: ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ· (736).

46 See n.44, and n.45, above.

47 It is the 'blind' who really 'see' (δῆλον ὁτιὴ καὶ τυφλῷ | γνῶναι δοκεῖ τοῦθ', ὡς σφόδρ' ἐστὶ συμφέρον | τὸ μηδὲν ἀσκεῖν ὑγιὲς ἐν τῷ νῦν χρόνῳ [48-50]). This is a common motif, exemplified in the inscriptions at Epidauros (see App. 2:1, 9), here, and in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. 'Blindness' and 'sight' is also a common motif in the healing stories of the New Testament.

48 *Ploutos* 11. Cf. the description of Apollo's healing power in Aeschylus' *The Eumenides* (62): ἰατρόμαντις.

49 ἐγὼ δ' ἐπῄνουν τὸν θεὸν πάνυ σφόδρα, | ὅτι βλέπειν ἐποίησε τὸν Πλοῦτον ταχύ, | τὸν δὲ Νεοκλείδην μᾶλλον ἐποίησεν τυφλόν (745-7). However, the term θεράπων appears twice (at *Ploutos* 3 and 5), as Carion's description of himself as the servant of his master. Otherwise the term used for *healer* to describe Asklepios is the epithet παιών, (see, for example, Ἀσκληπιοῦ παιῶνος, 636), an epithet we have already met (see above, chapter one). This epithet also appears in inscriptions from the Athenian asklepieion (for example, *IG* II^2, no. 4514, line 22; App. 3:3).

50 See above, 17. And see, for example, *IG* II^2, no. 4388: Ἀκεσώ Ἰασώ Πανάκεια Ἡ[πιόνη] (App. 3:2, 1); and *IG* II^2, no. 4473. Most dedications however include Hygieia with Asklepios, and incorporate the rest of his family (and other gods) into the general phrase

An inscription from the middle of the third century BC, a decree by the demos, notes that it was an ancestral custom of physicians in the service of the state to sacrifice to Asklepios and to Hygieia twice a year on behalf of themselves and of the people whom they had healed.[51] This tells us not only that there were public physicians in Athens at this time, but also that their relationship with the healing god was both cordial and expected.[52] The verb chosen to describe the physical healing of the physicians' patients is ἰάομαι.[53] This verb is also the verb chosen to describe Asklepios' healing in inscriptions from the Athenian asklepieion,[54] and occurs three times in one inscription from the second century AD, illustrating both a continuity and specificity of use during the lifespan of the asklepieion.[55]

"and to all the other gods", as in *IG* II^2, no. 4486: Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ὑγείᾳ | καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς | πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις κατὰ ὄνειφον (see App. 3:2, **2**; and *IG* II^2, no. 976, App. 3:2, **14**).
The noun ἄκος is used frequently by Aeschylus in the *Oresteia* to mean a cure, or means of a cure, to preserve the health of a dynasty, the state, and the body or mind of an individual. The first occurrence of ἄκος in *Agamemnon* is in the medical metaphor (see n.41 above) ἐντέμνων ἄκος (17), literally "incising a cure", a "condensed expression for 'curing by means of incision'" (Denniston and Page in Aeschylus [1960] 68, *re* line 17). It usually means *cure*, as here, and in 1169, but can also mean *medicine*, as in ἄκος δὲ πᾶν μάταιον (387). Here Aeschylus' use of the word requires some comment. It occurs in a passage which discusses the role of the gods in the life of humankind (351f.). Aeschylus states that there is no means of a cure, no antidote, no remedy or medicine, which can thwart the design of Zeus, when he determines to punish wrongdoing. As in the Homeric poems, humans are utterly helpless when faced with the designs of the gods. In *The Libation Bearers*, ἄκος occurs first in a doomladen pronouncement by the Chorus, who state that there is no cure (atonement?) for one who has incurred blood-guilt by violating the marriage bond with murder (71-2). Later, it is the members of the Chorus who again use this word when they realise that a cure may be possible (472); and finally when they describe Clytaemestra's actions (539). Here (539), ἄκος is linked with hope. Finally, in *The Eumenides*, it is the Chorus which uses ἄκος in a gnomic statement about the treatment for the prevention of civil war (στάσις), their prescription being grace for grace, and love and hatred with a common will: χάρματα δ' ἀντιδοῖεν | κοινοφιλεῖ διανοίᾳ, | καὶ στυγεῖν μιᾷ φρενί· | πολλῶν γὰρ τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς ἄκος (984-7).

51 *IG* II^2, no. 772 [ca. 252-1 BC] (but dated 270-69 BC by Pritchett and Meritt). See App. 3:2, **3**.

52 The role of public physicians is outside the scope of this discussion, and has been competently addressed already. See Cohn-Haft (1956). Another inscription, the dedicatory relief *IG* II^2, no. 4359 (Athens, N.M. 1332; App. 3:1, **2**), has also been associated with public physicians. For a discussion, and the conclusion that this is an erroneous assumption, see Aleshire (1989) 94-5.

53 "... ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὧν ἕκαστοι ἰάσαντο ..." See App. 3:2, **3**.

54 See, for example, *IG* II^2, no. 4475a (ἰαθέντα), (App. 3:2, **5**).

55 *IG* II^2, no. 4514 (see App. 3:3). This is a most interesting inscription for its use of ἰάομαι in different forms. The verb appears twice in the aorist middle participial form ἰασάμενος (and once in this form coupled with the imperative σῶσόν), and once in the aorist passive participial form ἰαθεὶς. It also appears in adjectival form with an alpha privative - ἀνίατον - qualifying ἕλκος, meaning "incurable". The dedicant had suffered from painful gout (ποδάγραν κακήν). This inscription does not end with the final formula

The noun ὑγιεία occurs as part of a formula in the decrees of the demos, concerning "the health and safety of the boule and the demos",[56] and "the health and safety of the boule and the demos and children and wives...".[57] Thus the concept of ὑγιεία in Athenian decrees relating to the asklepieion embraces the whole state, which includes the well-being of the organs of government, the boule and the demos, (Athenian males), and their wives and children. It is a universal, rather than a particular term, and certainly illustrates the fact that the function of the asklepieion at Athens was to focus on the health of the Athenian state,[58] the family, and the individual, in that order.[59]

In contrast, the verb θεραπεύω is notable for its absence in a healing context, although the noun θεραπεία does appear twice in *IG* II^2, no. 1019,[60]

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so common to the inscriptions from Epidauros, but is far more specific. The dedicant has become ἀρτίπος - "sound of foot", rather than ὑγιής.

[56] *IG* II^2, no. 354 [328-7 BC] (see App. 3:2, 8). According to the restoration of Hubbe (1959) 172, lines 43-4: [ὁ ἱερεὺς γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς] ἱεροῖς ἐ[φ' ὑγιεί]αι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς κ[αὶ τοῦ δήμου.] Hubbe's commentary (174) on these lines: "The restoration is complicated by a final letter in line 43 not recorded in the Editio Minor. It is most naturally read as *tau*, with its vertical stroke somewhat left of center and its horizontal stroke tipped slightly upward. Since no satisfactory restoration with *tau* has been found, however, it seems best to read the letter as *epsilon*; what appeared to be the top bar of *tau* must then be a scratch. We can now retain the restoration in the Editio Minor, but must again place *iota* as an extra letter at the end of line 43."

[57] *IG* II^2, no. 775 [244-3 BC] (see App. 3:2, 9). Again according to Hubbe's restoration, (1959) 175, lines 14-15 read: "τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ | τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως]". See also *IG* II^2, no. 950, line 8 (App. 3:2, **11**); and *IG* II^2, no. 975 + 1061, lines 8-10, (App. 3:2, **13**).

[58] Healing language in Athenian literature also encompasses the well-being of family and state, as well as individual human health. For example, the opposite of *health* (ὑγιεία) is *disease* (νόσος), and these terms can refer to human health in a physical, emotional or mental sense, or to the health (or disease) of the state. Aeschylus is fond of using medical metaphors when prescribing treatment for the well-being of the state (see above, n.51). For example (*Agamemnon* 844-850): λέγω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεούς | κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει | βουλευσόμεσθα· καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον | ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον· | ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων, | ἤτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως | πειρασόμεσθα πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου. ("Now in the business of the city and the gods I we must ordain full conclave of all the citizens I and take our counsel. We shall see what element I is strong, and plan that it shall keep its virtue still. I But that which must be healed - we must use medicine, I or burn, or amputate, with kind intention, take I all means at hand that might beat down corruption's pain." Translation by Richmond Lattimore, in Aeschylus [1964]).

[59] Unless the safety of the state was assured families and individuals could not prosper. One wonders to what extent the 'Athenian' character of the asklepieion was a product of the outcome of the Peloponnesian War, and the decline in Athenian influence and prosperity in the following centuries.

[60] Dated 138-7 BC. The term appears twice: at lines 14 and 18, and refers to the care of sacred property. (For a commentary, and a restoration of lines 13-14, based on lines 25-6 of *IG* II^2, no. 974 [137-6 BC] see Hubbe (1959) 188: "[ὁ ἱερεὺ]ς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Λεωνίδη[ς Νικοκράτου | Φλυεὺς ἐμφανίζει τό τε τέμενος καὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷι

referring to the care of sacred property. This noun is also restored in *IG* II^2, no. 974,[61] but the meaning is slightly different. It is most unlikely that it refers to cures in this context, given the rarity of θεραπεύω and its related word group in the healing language of inscriptions from this asklepieion, so Hubbe[62] is probably correct when he takes the word to mean *worship*. However the noun θεραπεία does occur in an inscription, where its probable meaning is *treatment*.[63] Unfortunately the inscription is fragmentary, but it seems to be have been dedicated to Asklepios by a person who, through the treatment of a disease revealed in a vision, was delivered from a severe illness. The operative verb is σῴζω, a word that often occurs in healing inscriptions to describe deliverance from suffering (and possible death).[64] The adjectival form of σῴζω is also chosen to describe the welfare of the state in decrees.[65]

θεραπείας καὶ ἐπισκευῆς δεόμενα]. The Editio Minor shows [ἐὴν αὐτεῖ. The letter read as *epsilon* has a central horizontal bar; but in place of the lower bar one sees only two dots, such as might be expected at the feet of *omega*, while there is also a fine line that might be the right vertical stroke of the rectangular *omega* common on this stone. A reading of *eta* is not excluded." For a discussion of the decree, see 187-8.) See App. 3:2, 4.

61 Dated 137-6 BC. For a commentary, and a discussion of this decree, see Hubbe (1959) 188-194. Lines 22-26 are restored thus: " . . . καταστήσας] | δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Δῖον κλειδοῦχον καὶ πυρφόρον ἐπὶ ἁπάσας τὰς] | [κ]αθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γινομένας θεραπείας ἐν αἷς τοῖς θύουσιν] | [τ]ῶι θεῶι κεχορήγηκεν ἐκτενῶς, τοῦ τ[ε τεμένους τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ] | [κα]ὶ τ[ῆς Ὑγιείας καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν [αὐτοῖς . . .". Of θεραπείας] Hubbe says (193-4): "In line 24, θεραπείας] was restored already by Koehler in the older Corpus. The word could refer to divine cures, but since this is not specifically stated, we are probably meant to understand it in the more general sense of *worship*. The worship took place daily, according to the text, apparently being that of visitors who came to the sanctuary each day, whether to pray for health in general, or to be cured, or to ask for the cure of others, or to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving."

62 See above, n.61.

63 θεραπίᾳ: see *IG* II^2, no. 4538 (App 3:2, **12**). This is an interesting inscription, both in content and language. The dedicant (the aorist passive participle of σῴζω is feminine [σωθεῖσα]), erected it along with physicians (μετὰ τῶν ἰα[τρῶν]), and it mentions a vision (ὄναρ), and a severe illness (μεγάλη(ς) νόσο(υ)).

64 See *IG* II^2, no. 4514 (App. 3:3), line 13.

65 See, for example, *IG* II^2, no. 950, line 9 (App. 3:2, **11**); *IG* II^2, no. 354 (App. 3:2, **8**); and *IG* II^2, no. 775 (App. 3:2, **9**).
The verb σῴζω and its related forms is also prominent in Athenian literature. As we have already seen the Homeric use of the word means *rescue and preserve* (see above, chapter one). This concept of σῴζω continues. Aeschylus uses it to mean *safety from death*. The cognate form σωτήρ, prominent in later inscriptions (see, for example, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 127 [224AD], line 5: Σωτῆρι Ἀσκληπιῷ, App. 2:6) and literature as an epithet of Asklepios, is linked in the *Agamemnon* with παίων, when the herald greets his homeland and his gods. The herald addresses Apollo, and begs him to be again the Achaeans' saviour and healer (νῦν δ' αὖτε σωτὴρ ἴσθι καὶ παιώνιος, | ἄναξ Ἄπολλον· [512–3]). He uses the term σωτήρ again when describing the return of the Achaeans from Ilium (646), with their message of "glad tidings of deliverance" (σωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον), only to be confronted by a storm at sea. They were saved by "life-giving fortune" (τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο [664]). The word is used again in a nautical metaphor, when Clytaemestra

Thus the epigraphical evidence for general healing terms at Athens, although not evident in great quantity, does provide a skeletal framework, and the meaning of these terms can be fleshed out from an analysis of the use of these terms by Athenian authors.[66]

It is helpful here to turn to the historian Thucydides, and to his account of the plague that devastated Athens in the early years of the Peloponnesian War.[67] Thucydides' account is most useful for a study of the language of healing, and the study of the effect on human nature of the indiscriminate appearance of disease. It is probably no accident that the asklepieion at Athens was established within ten years of this disaster.[68]

One expression that occurred frequently in the Epidaurian inscriptions is also present in Thucydides' account of the plague. The adjective ὑγιής is used by Thucydides to describe people who were in good health before being struck down by disease (ὑγιεῖς ὄντας 2.49.2). In this way his use of ὑγιής echoes the language of the Epidaurian inscriptions, in that ὑγιής describes the original (good) health of an individual.

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describes Agamemnon as "the stay that keeps the ship alive" (σωτῆρα ναὸς πρότονον [897]). (Cf. *New Docs* 4 [1987] 113, #26 [b], for the use of σῴζω by a Jew in a nautical context: Θεοῦ εὐλογία· | Θευόδοτος Δωρίωνος | Ἰουδαῖος σωθεὶς ἐκ πε-λ<άγ>ους. See also *New Docs* 3 [1983] 58-9 for examples of σωθεὶς ἐγ μεγάλου κινδύνου in a similar context; and *New Docs* 6 [1992] 82-6 for evidence that storms at sea were viewed as acts of god [τι βίαιον ἐκ θεοῦ or θεοῦ βία] for insurance purposes. Cf. also the significance of this for the New Testament story of the stilling of the storm [Mt 8.27; Mk 4.41; Lk 8.25]).

In *The Libation Bearers* Orestes begs Hermes to be his saviour and ally, that is, to keep him safe (σωτὴρ γενοῦ μοι ξύμμαχός τ' αἰτουμένῳ [21]), when he embarks on the dangerous task of avenging his father's brutal murder. Later, Elektra refers to Orestes as the darling of their father's house, its hope of saving seed (ἐλπὶς σπέρματος σωτηρίου [236]), expressing the hope that Orestes will finally put the curse to rest, and Agamemnon's family be saved from extinction.

Euripides also uses the verb σῴζω to mean *safety from death.* In *Hippolytos*, for example, the verb σῴζω appears four times in the sense of saving life. It is used three times by the nurse (497, 501, 705), and each time she is conniving to save Phaedra's life, a life she refers to as a great prize (νῦν δ' ἀγὼν μέγας | σῶσαι βίον σόν [496–7]). Hippolytos also uses the term, when he tells Phaedra that it is his piety that continues to preserve her way of life (εὖ δ' ἴσθι, τοὐμόν σ' εὐσεβὲς σῴζει, γύναι [656]).

66 An analysis of the use of these terms has been restricted to their occurrence in a medical, a philosophical, or a theological context.

67 2.47-55

68 The citizens of Athens had desperate need of the healing god during these early years of the war, but it was not until after the Peace of Nikias that the journey to the Peloponnese could have been made in safety. See above, n.1. The asklepieion at Rome was established in 292 BC in response to a plague (See above, chapter two, n.33).

Thucydides' language is precise: he does not use a general term like ἰάομαι to describe those who recover from the plague. Instead the verbs ἀνίστημι (2.49.8) and διαφεύγω (2.49.8; 2.51.6) are chosen. In fact the verb ἰάομαι does not occur, and only its related forms ἰατρός (2.47.4; 2.49.3), meaning *physician*, and ἴαμα (2.51.2), meaning a *remedy* appear. This is not surprising, as physicians were ineffective (2.47.4), and no one remedy could be found (2.51.2). Even the fortunate few who recovered bore permanent reminders of their suffering (2.49.7-8).

However, the verb θεραπεύω does appear, and in a quite precise sense. It includes the Homeric sense of *caring for*, and the Epidaurian sense of *treatment*, but these occurrences focus quite precisely on *the nursing of those who are sick*. It applies equally to physicians and ordinary citizens, any who fulfil the role of caring for the sick. Nowhere is it used by Thucydides to describe healing, in the sense of curing, but rather to describe nursing treatment which may, or may not, be successful.

At first physicians (ἰατροί) were treating the disease in ignorance (θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοίᾳ) (2.47.4). People died, despite careful nursing (πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι) (2.51.2), and despite being nursed with all medical care (τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα) (2.51.3). They became infected by nursing one another, and died like sheep (καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνησκον) (2.51.4), so that there was a shortage of those to do the nursing (τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος) (2.51.5).

In every case of the use of this verb, continuity of action is stressed. Either the present participle is used (2.47.4; 2.51.2; 2.51.3), or the cognate form (2.51.4), or the future participle (2.51.5). Thus the Thucydidean use of θεραπεύω, in relation to illness and suffering, is quite precise, meaning medical treatment in the form of continuous nursing; treatment that may, or may not, be successful in its outcome.

Like Thucydides, the historian Xenophon uses this verb in a medical context to mean nursing, in the sense of providing medical treatment. In his description of Cyrus' freeing of prisoners, Xenophon recounts how Cyrus "sent for physicians and ordered them to give medical treatment to the wounded men (τοὺς δὲ τετρωμένους ἰατροὺς καλέσας θεραπεύειν

ἐκέλευσεν)."[69] Xenophon extends this sense of θεραπεύω when he uses the verb to describe the actions of the gods, rather than humans. In *Memorabilia* (4.3) Socrates, in trying to teach Euthydemus the value of prudence, tries first to encourage him to be of sound mind (σώφρων) concerning the gods. In so doing Socrates lists all the gifts that exemplify the care of the gods: light, darkness, food, water, fire, the seasons, and so on, to which Euthydemus replies (4.3.9) that he doubts whether the gods are occupied in any other work than the nurture of mankind (ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος, ἤδη τοῦτο σκοπῶ, εἰ ἄρα τί ἐστι τοῖς θεοῖς ἔργον ἢ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύειν·). Thus the sense of continuous, nurturing, and selfless action in θεραπεύω, implied by Thucydides' use of the word, is emphasised.

However, it is in the work of the Athenian orator Isocrates that we get a detailed exposition of the verb θεραπεύω. In *Aegineticus*, a speech written in the first decade of the fourth century BC,[70] Isocrates presents the case for a claim to an inheritance. One of his arguments rests on the fact that his client (the defendant) was the only person to nurse the testator through the long and difficult illness which resulted in his death.[71] Thus we see θεραπεύω used in a medical context akin to the Thucydidean use of the term in his description of the plague. In both cases, death was the result. Isocrates' use of the term is instructive, for he also uses the terms νοσηλεύω, and ἐπιμέλεια in his account, so that it becomes possible to detect the subtle differences in meaning between words of a similar sense content. The verb ἰάομαι does not occur. As in the Thucydidean account of the plague, this is not surprising, since the testator's disease was considered to be terminal.

It becomes immediately obvious that the verb θεραπεύω is used to describe the selfless comforting care of the physical (however disgusting the symptoms), and emotional (however irascible and difficult) welfare of the patient. In the beginning, the defendant says that he nursed his friend with unremitting care and devotion because he was so completely destitute of companionship (μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐρημίας γενόμενον οὕτως ἐπιπόνως καὶ καλῶς αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσα).[72] Thus the concept of emotional

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69 *Cyropaedia* 3.2.12 (my translation).

70 The exact date of the speech is uncertain, but ##18-20 show that it must not be long after 394 BC. See van Hook in Isocrates (1968) 299.

71 See Isocrates (1968) *Aegineticus* 11, and 20-33, but especially 20-29.

72 ibid. 11

support is immediately implicit in θεραπεύω. The defendant claims that he nursed him with a care such as no one else he knew had ever bestowed on another (οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσα ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις πώποθ' ἕτερος ἕτερον).[73] This involved him in drudgery (τῶν ταλαιπωριῶν),[74] hardship (τοὺς πόνους), exile (τὴν φυγὴν) and isolation (τὴν ἐρημίαν).[75] His duties in nursing (ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ) his friend were not easy to describe (οὐκ εὐδιήγητ'), but required the utmost diligence (πλείστης ἐπιμελείας) over a long period of time (τοσοῦτον χρόνον) and involved the most severe (τὰ χαλεπώτατα), most offensive (δυσχερέστατα), and most disgusting labours (πόνους ἀηδεστάτους).[76]

In every instance this practical devotion is described by θεραπεύω. The only occasion another verb is used is when the defendant states that no one shared the nursing with him, except a slave boy (ἐνοσήλευον).[77] Since such a distinction is made it is obvious that the slave boy only provided menial nursing support (under duress?), for none of the domestics could stand it (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινεν).[78] Some of these difficulties are explained: although able to get about the patient was ill for a long time, until, filled with pus,[79] he became bedridden for six months before he died.[80] As well, as his physical health declined his naturally irascible temperament became even more difficult.[81] Nobody visited, except his mother and sister, who made the defendant's task even more difficult as they were sick themselves, and in need of care (θεραπείας).[82] It is a sorry picture, and quite obvious that θεραπεύω does indeed involve "vexation for the mind and hard work for the hands" as the Athenian playwright Euripides points out in *Hippolytos* :

> "κρεῖσσον δὲ νοσεῖν ἢ θεραπεύειν·
> τὸ μέν ἐστιν ἁπλοῦν, τῷ δὲ συνάπτει
> λύπη τε φρενῶν χερσίν τε πόνος.

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73 ibid. 24
74 ibid. 25
75 ibid. 27
76 ibid. 28
77 ibid. 25
78 ibid. 26
79 ibid. 26-7: ὃς ἔμπυος μὲν ἦν πολὺν χρόνον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς κλίνης οὐκ ἠδύνατο κινεῖσθαι.
80 ibid. 24
81 ibid. 26: καὶ γὰρ φύσει χαλεπὸς ὢν ἔτι δυσκολώτερον διὰ τὴν νόσον διέκειτο.
82 ibid. 25

πᾶς δ' ὀδυνηρὸς βίος ἀνθρώπων,
κοὐκ ἔστι πόνων ἀνάπαυσις." (186-91)[83]

There is no doubt that θεραπεύειν in this context means continuous mental and physical toil, (note the present infinitive), and certainly denotes *caring for* rather than *curing*, echoing both Thucydides' and Isocrates' use of the verb θεραπεύω.

However Isocrates, as well as emphasising the physical drudgery implicit in the meaning of θεραπεύω, also emphasises the selfless and nurturing nature of that care, so that it seems that while anybody can nurse a patient in the sense of νοσηλεύω, only those who have the physical, emotional, and spiritual welfare of their patient at heart are capable of giving the care implied by θεραπεύω. Thus θεραπεύω does not involve a quick-fix, but long-term devoted care, which incorporates the physical care implied in νοσηλεύω, and the painstaking attention implied in ἐπιμέλεια,[84] as well as requiring the love of selfless service. It thus describes the holistic care given to meet the needs of those who are suffering.

The problem of suffering is inexorably present in any study of health and healing. It exists as the dark side of human experience, a dark side that humans have ever sought to understand and to explain. The Greek word chosen to signify that suffering is πάσχω. It is used to describe physical, emotional and mental suffering in inscriptions and literature, suffering that has either been intense, or has occurred continuously over a period of time.

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83 "It's better to be sick than nurse the sick. | Sickness is single trouble for the sufferer: | but nursing means vexation of the mind, | and hard work for the hands besides. | The life of man entire is misery: | he finds no resting place, no haven from calamity." (186-191) Translation by David Grene, in Euripides (1955) 171.

84 The verb ἐπιμελέομαι is the verb used to describe the actions of the Samaritan in Jesus' parable of the good Samaritan (Lk 10.34,35). In this New Testament story the verb ἐπιμελέομαι describes the painstaking attention that the noun ἐπιμέλεια describes in Isocrates' 4th century BC account. However, as in Isocrates' account, the nature of the care described by ἐπιμελέομαι in the New Testament story should be distinguished from the nature of the care described by θεραπεύω elsewhere in the New Testament. For a discussion, see below, chapter seven. Note also that ἐπιμελέομαι and its related forms in Athenian inscriptions from the asklepieion refers to the order and maintenance of the sanctuary, its belongings, and the surrounding area. See *IG* II^2, no. 354 (App. 3:2, **8**); *IG* II^2, no. 950 (App. 3:2, **11**); and *IG* II^2, no. 976 (App. 3:2, **14**).

Thus Isocrates uses the verb πάσχω in the imperfect continuous tense when he describes the suffering endured by the testator.[85] Thucydides twice chooses the same verb to describe the sufferings of those who were ill with the plague:[86] firstly, where he tells us that he had the disease himself and saw others suffering from it (αὐτος τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας 2.48.3); and secondly, where he comments that men's recollections conform to their sufferings (οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο 2.54.3). It is a strong verb, and intended to describe intense and continuous suffering, so Thucydides uses the present participle, and the imperfect tense. He does not use it of himself, and elsewhere he uses the more clinical verb ἀναπίμπλημι (2.51.4) to describe those infected, and πονέομαι (2.51.6) to describe those who are sick. It is significant that he also uses an intensified form of this verb (κακοπαθέω) on two occasions to sum up the sufferings endured by the Athenian prisoners in the stone quarries at Syracuse (7.87.2, 6), using the aorist tense in both places.[87] The cognate form of πάσχω appears only once, at 2.54.1, where Thucydides sums up the history of the plague. Here τό πάθος is synonymous with ἡ νόσος.

In early Athenian tragedy the concept of the efficacy of suffering is central to Greek ideas on human happiness. It figures in Aeschylus' solution to the problem of suffering: that Zeus ordained that through suffering would come human wisdom. This idea is first presented in the *Agamemnon*,[88] and is reinforced at regular intervals throughout the play. It is bound up with Aeschylus' idea of justice,[89] and the further idea that the sins of the father will be visited on his children.[90]

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85 ibid. 27: τοιαῦτα δ' ἔπασχεν ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀδακρύτους διάγειν.

86 It is a strong verb, intended to convey intense suffering, so it is rarely used, and only in conjunction with a detailed exposition of those sufferings (as in the case of Isocrates' *Aegineticus*, and here). Its use is also rare in the New Testament, see below, chapter seven.

87 As usual, Thucydides is precise (cf. 1.1.1) in his use of tense. In this case the sufferings of the prisoners had ended with their death, after one intense period of sustained suffering.

88 176-8: "Zeus, who guided men to think, who has laid it down that wisdom comes alone through suffering (τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ|σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος | θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν)."

89 249-51: "Justice so moves that those only learn who suffer; and the future you shall know when it has come; before then, forget it (Δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦ|σιν μαθεῖν ἐπιῤῥέπει· τὸ μέλλον ἴσ|ἴ | ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις· πρὸ χαιρέτω)."

90 1560-6: "Here is anger for anger. Between them who shall judge lightly? The spoiler is robbed; he killed, he has paid. The truth stands ever beside God's throne eternal: he who has wrought shall pay; that is the law. Then who shall tear the curse from their blood? (ὄνειδος ἥκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνείδους, | δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρῖναι· | φέρει φέροντ' , ἐκτίνει δ'

Suffering does not necessarily denote physical disease, but a relentless and continuous deprivation of human happiness.[91] Cities too can suffer in the same way as individuals,[92] and this suffering, in Aeschylus' view, is ordained by the gods. It is in *The Libation Bearers* that the image of πάθος as continuous and burgeoning misery is most powerfully drawn:

"μίμνοντι δὲ καὶ πάθος ἀνθεῖ." (1009)[93]

Sophocles also uses τό πάθος to mean *suffering*, incorporating physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual anguish, and including a sense of loss. In Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* Oedipus sums up his sufferings with the word παθέα,[94] and Sophocles concludes the play with the word παθών.[95]

Euripides also uses πάσχω in various forms to denote mental suffering, suffering which usually includes a sense of loss.[96]

ὁ καίνων· | μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς | παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ. | τίς ἂν γονὰν ἀραῖον ἐκβάλοι δόμων; | κεκόλληται γένος πρὸς ἄτᾳ.)." This idea of inherited guilt/punishment is echoed in Old Testament thought (see Deuteronomy 28.58-61).

91 See *The Libation Bearers* 313: δράσαντι παθεῖν. See also a fragment attributed to Aeschylus - δράσαντι γάρ τοι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται - in Aeschylus (1971) 506, Fragment 236 (456). The editor notes that this fragment is "probably from Sophocles (Fragment 229 Jebb-Pearson)", but has been ascribed to Aeschylus because of *The Libation Bearers* 313.

92 See *Agamemnon* 1169-71: " ἄκος δ' | οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν | τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἐχρῆν παθεῖν·." The aorist infinitive also occurs at 1658, after a corrupt text (see Aeschylus [1960] 222, commentary to lines 1657-8).

93 *The Libation Bearers* 1009. For Orestes, the one surviving, suffering blossoms. It is a powerful image. And Orestes' reaction is grief; grief for the deed (the murder of his father: πάθη [1070]), grief for the suffering, and grief for the whole race. Thus the reality of suffering is inexorably present in the process of living.
The noun πάθος also denotes the suffering of the fleet on its journey home from Ilium (*Agamemnon* 669); and Cassandra's suffering and imminent death (*Agamemnon* 1137); while the plural πάθη denotes Agamemnon's imagined wounds (*Agamemnon* 893).

94 Ἀπόλλων τάδ' ἦν, Ἀπόλλων, φίλοι, | ὁ κακὰ κακὰ τελῶν ἐμὰ τάδ' ἐμὰ παθέα (1329–1330); "It was Apollo, friends, Apollo who brought my evil evils, my sufferings to completion" (my translation).

95 In the famous maxim: ὥστε θνητὸν ὄντ' ἐκείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν | ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν | τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθών (1528-1530); "Look upon that last day always. Count no mortal happy till he has passed the final limit of his life secure from pain." (Translation by David Grene in Sophocles [1954].)

96 The nurse asks Phaedra "τί πάσχεις..." (*Hippolytos* 340) when trying to ascertain the source of her anguish; the members of the chorus cry of πάθεα with a sense of impending doom and loss, when they overhear Phaedra's 'confession' (*Hippolytos* 363). The nurse speaks of πέπονθας when trying to whitewash Phaedra's 'trouble', and diminish its importance (*Hippolytos* 438). However, it is in Phaedra's use of πάσχω in various forms; as παθημάτων, (*Hippolytos* 570) πημάτων, (*Hippolytos* 600) and πάθος, (*Hippolytos* 677, echoing her cry of despair at 570) that the quality of loss implicit in this word group becomes most obvious. Phaedra has lost her self respect. She can no longer function in her

All these terms - θεραπεύω, ὑγιαίνω, πάθος, ἰατρικὴ - occur in the writings of the Athenian philosopher Epicurus.[97] This is helpful, for Diogenes Laertius says of Epicurus that his style was lucid, and that the terms he used for things were 'ordinary' terms.[98] Therefore Epicurus' use of healing language should reflect contemporary usage.[99]

Epicurus uses the verb θεραπεύω to mean *heal*,[100] *give service/ pay homage*,[101] and *find comfort*.[102] Thus his use includes the range of meaning already noticed in the use of θεραπεύω. He uses the noun θεραπεία to mean *care*,[103] in a similar sense to the care implied in the stewardship of property in inscriptions from the asklepieion.[104] Where Epicurus uses the verb θεραπεύω to mean *heal*, the healing agent is the teaching (λόγος) of the philosopher.[105] It is by this λόγος that the anguish of humankind is healed (πάθος ἀνθρώπου θεραπεύεται), and this λόγος that banishes the anguish of the soul (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβάλλει πάθος).[106] This use makes explicit the psychological dimension of the healing implicit in θεραπεύω, a psychological dimension manifest in the behaviour of

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female world of husband and children. The only solution is to take her own life: death is her only cure (*Hippolytos* 600. This is the only occurrence of ἄκος in the play, and means *cure* in the sense of *relief from suffering*). This sense of loss in πάσχω is echoed by Theseus' "ἔπαθον" (*Hippolytos* 817) when he learns of Phaedra's death and his loss of his wife, and by Hippolytus, when he cries "οἷα πάσχομεν κακά" (*Hippolytos* 1079), when he realises that he has unjustly lost his father's love and respect.

97 The son of Neocles and Chaerestrate, of the deme Gargettus, and the family Philaidae, Epicurus (341-271 BC) was brought up at Samos after the Athenians sent settlers there, and came to Athens at the age of eighteen. When Alexander of Macedon died and settlers were expelled from Samos by Perdiccas, Epicurus left Athens for Colophon, but returned to Athens in 307-6 BC, and later established a philosophical school. See Diogenes Laertius (1970) 10.

98 (1970) 10.13: κέχρηται δὲ λέξει κυρίᾳ κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων.

99 For a collection, see App. 3:5. The text for Epicurus is based on Epicurus (1973). References in App. 3:5, and in the notes, are numbered by numeral, and then as in the edition cited, together with the page number of that edition, and the source.

100 App. 3:5, **1**: **[247]** (570, #64) Porphyrius (Pötscher) *ad Marcellam* 31 34 10

101 App. 3:5, **2**: **[1] 121** b (29) *Vita Epicuri cum testamento*

102 App. 3:5, **4**: **[6] 55** (151) *Gnomologium Vaticanum*

103 App. 3:5, **3**: **[54]** (428) *Epistularum fragmenta* Plutarch *ad. Coloten* 1117d-e

104 *IG* II^2, no. 1019 [138-7 BC], App. 3:2, **10**

105 App. 3:5, **1**: **[247]** (570, #64) Porphyrius (Pötscher) *ad Marcellam* 31 34 10

106 Cf. the New Testament exorcism stories, and particularly Matthew's description of Jesus' behaviour (καὶ ἐξέβαλεν τὰ πνεύματα λόγῳ, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ἐθεράπευσεν· [Mt 8.16]). For a discussion of the use of ἐκβάλλω in exorcism stories in the New Testament, see below, chapter nine, n.103.

Patroklos,[107] in the behaviour of Isocrates' defendant,[108] and in the account of the healing of Marcus Julius Apellas at Epidauros.[109]

Thus Epicurus uses the verb θεραπεύω to describe the healing action of teaching, teaching that banishes psychological suffering,[110] and the noun πάθος to name this emotional anguish. He also uses the verb πάσχω to denote the suffering brought about by error.[111] However, Epicurus not only uses πάθος to denote mental and emotional anguish, he also uses the noun πάθος to refer to physical suffering, the τῶν τοῦ σωματίου παθῶν, that he endured when he was ill.[112]

Epicurus uses other healing terms to describe the curative effectiveness of the pursuit of philosophy as a way of life. In his letter to Menoeceus, Epicurus states that the study of philosophy is necessary for the well-being (τὸ ὑγιαῖνον) of the soul.[113] In personal letters he stresses his own and his friends' "health" (ὑγιαίνοντες . . . ὑγιιαίνοντας),[114] and expresses the wish that the recipient also be in good health (ὑγιαίνεις).[115] According to Diogenes Laertius (10.14) these greetings in personal letters referred to his friends' way of living as well as their physical health. Indeed physical health is inextricably linked with the health of the soul in Epicurus' thought, in that pain is a distraction, an evil which ruins the soul and makes it weak[116] whereas pleasure (freedom from pain and fear)[117] saves the soul.[118] Thus Epicurus advocates the choosing of virtues on account of pleasure, not for their own sake, but as medicine for the sake of

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107 Patroklos stayed with Eurypylos as long as he could, offering comfort, and talking with him (*Iliad* 15.390-404). See above, 10-11.

108 Isocrates (1968) *Aegineticus* 11, 20-33; and see above, 55-8.

109 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 126 [ca. 160 AD], App. 2:5; and see above, 38-40.

110 It should be noted that this teaching requires a positive response on the part of the student, in that the λόγος must produce a discernible effect: freedom from pain and fear, which is the final end of the blessed life (τοῦτο τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν ἐστι τέλος [App. 3:5, **15: [4] 128** (111) *Epistula ad Menoeceum* 128]).

111 App. 3:5, **11: [6] 63** (153) *Gnomologium Vaticanum*

112 App. 3:5, **9: [259]** (672) Marcus Aurelius 9.41

113 App. 3:5, **6: [4] 122** (107) *Epistula ad Menoeceum*

114 App. 3:5, **8: [261]** (679) *Pap. Herc.* 176 5 XXIII Vo.

115 ibid.

116 App. 3:5, **10: [6] 37** (147) *Gnomologium Vaticanum*

117 App. 3:5, **15: [4] 128** (111) *Epistula ad Menoeceum*

118 App. 3:5, **10: [6] 37** (147) *Gnomologium Vaticanum*

health.[119] And to be truly healthy, without pain or fear, is the ultimate aim of his philosophy.

It is significant, although it comes as no surprise, that ἰάομαι does not feature in Epicurus' healing language, for the pursuit of the philosophical life is a process, a way of life, requiring an active and continuous response in the student. Thus the λόγος of the philosopher heals (θεραπεύει), it is a treatment that requires the ignition of a continuing spark of recognition in the student to be effective, and this recognition-process continues throughout life. In this way the philosopher's λόγος produces a new way of living among those who heed his teaching, a way of life that banishes the πάθος of mankind. Thus the continuous notions of work, comfort, care and service are combined in the verb θεραπεύω.

It is appropriate that this discussion of healing language conclude with two of the last literary witnesses to the contemporary efficacy and popularity of Asklepios at Athens. In both the majority of the terms encountered in the general language of healing are present.

The story of the miraculous healing of a young maiden called Asclepigenia in Marinos' *Vita Procli*,[120] illustrates the power of the prayer of a righteous man,[121] the well-being of the asklepieion at Athens,[122] the importance of maintaining the family line,[123] and the fact that the normal procedure in cases of illness was to seek the help of

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119 App. 3:5, 14: [1] 138 (31) Vita Epicuri cum testamento: διὰ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς αἱρεῖσθαι, οὐ δι' αὐτάς, ὥσπερ τὴν ἰατρικὴν διὰ τὴν ὑγίειαν . . . .

120 *Vita Procli* 29. According to Armstrong (1965) 199, Proclus, the Platonic Successor at Athens, (410-485 AD) was "the greatest of the later Neo-Platonists". For a discussion of his thought and influence, see Armstrong (1965) 199-204.

121 Cf., for example, James 5.15-16 (*re* the prayer of a righteous man) in the New Testament; and the Babylonian Talmud (Berakhoth 34b) *re* the Jewish *ḥasid* Hanina ben Dosa (for a discussion see Vermes [1983] 72-76). Thus this story echoes earlier thought on the value of prayer, and the power of the holy man.

122 "For the city still enjoyed the god's presence at that time and still held the temple of the Saviour unravaged (καὶ γὰρ ηὐτύχει τούτου ἡ πόλις τότε, καὶ εἶχεν ἔτι ἀπόρθητον τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἱερόν)" i.e. in the 5th century AD.

123 This desire is probably not peculiar to Athens, but a universal desire, eloquently expressed by Athenian authors. It figures in lawsuits as a (supposedly) persuasive argument for justifying action. For example, this was the reason given in Isocrates (1968) (*Aegineticus* 12, 13, 34) for his client's adoption, and here it accounts for the father's despair: "Since Archiades rested all his hopes for his family line on her alone, he was grieved and greatly distressed, as was natural (ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιάδας ἐπ' αὐτῇ μόνῃ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων τοῦ γένους, ἤσχαλλε καὶ ὀδυνηρῶς διέκειτο, ὥσπερ ἦν εἰκός)."

physicians first, and only when they despaired of help to turn elsewhere.[124] In it the terms ἰάσασθαι (meaning to *cure/heal*, referring to physicians), ἰᾶτο (meaning *healed*, referring to Asklepios), παθῶν (referring to the physical suffering of the patient), and ὑγιεινῇ (referring to the patient's return to health), occur.

A young maiden, Asclepigenia, was stricken with a grievous illness, which the physicians were unable to cure (νόσῳ χαλεπῇ κατείχετο καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἰάσασθαι ἀδυνάτῳ). Her father turned to the philosopher Proclus and asked him to pray for his daughter. Proclus' prayer was effective, for after going to the asklepieion, and while he was praying (in the more ancient fashion), a change came over the girl and she suddenly found relief (εὐχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀρχαιότερον τρόπον, ἀθρόα μεταβολὴ περὶ τὴν κόρην ἐφαίνετο καὶ ῥᾳστώνη ἐξαίφνης ἐγίγνετο·). The explanation given is that the "Saviour"[125] (Asklepios), because he was a god, easily healed her (ῥεῖα γὰρ ὁ Σωτήρ, ὥστε θεός, ἰᾶτο). When Proclus left the asklepieion and visited Asclepigenia he found her relieved of her bodily suffering (τὸ σῶμα λελυμένην παθῶν), and in a healthy state (ἐν ὑγιεινῇ δὲ καταστάσει διάγουσαν).

This story, although later in time, shows a continuity in the meaning of healing language. The verb ἰάομαι, as in earlier inscriptions, still refers to the miraculous healing wrought by Asklepios, but also describes the actions of physicians.[126] Similarly πάθος continues to refer to suffering, but, in this case the suffering is specifically defined as being physical in nature, and ὑγιεινή continues to refer to a restoration to a former state of health.

Suidas,[127] although he is writing much later,[128] relates the story of the healing of Domninus (a philosopher of the 5th century AD) and Plutarch the Athenian (*ca.* AD 400).[129] His account is interesting for several

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124 Marinos, *Vita Procli* 29

125 Cf. the designation of Asklepios as "Saviour" in (i) inscriptions (see above, n.65); and (ii) literature (Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 50.9, and see below, chapter five; Hippokrates [1990] 88, Letter 17.9; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 10.49).

126 Of Asklepios, see *IG* II^2, no. 4514 [2nd c. AD], (App. 3:3); of physicians, see *IG* II^2, no. 772 [ca. 252-1 BC (but dated 270-69 BC by Pritchett and Meritt)].

127 Lexicon, *s. v.* Δομνῖνος.

128 Suidas was writing in the 10th century AD.

129 App. 3:4

reasons: it shows an understanding of and a sympathy for the Jewish religion (in particular Jewish abstention from eating pork); it shows a patient questioning a prescribed cure, and Asklepios' ability to offer an acceptable alternative; it implies that Jewish people could (and did?) go to Asklepios for healing help; and it uses the terms ἴασις (meaning *cure*), νόσος (meaning *disease*), ὑγιεία (meaning *a return to former health*), θεραπεία (meaning prescribed *treatment*), and πάθος (meaning *illness*, or *physical suffering*).

Thus it can be seen that the literary evidence at Athens, comprising the language of inscriptions, poetry, history, oratory and philosophy, during the life span of the asklepieion there, shows definite trends in the meaning of healing words. The verb ὑγιαίνω, and its related forms, continues to indicate a return to former (good) health, and to indicate the maintenance of a healthy way of life. It is generally used in a holistic sense to indicate the general well-being and effective functioning of the state, family or individual, both in inscriptions and literature. In contrast, the verb πάσχω, and its related forms continues to indicate suffering, whether it be mental anguish or physical pain. The verbs θεραπεύω, ἰάομαι and σώζω, and their related forms, although overlapping slightly in their meaning on occasion, in that each can mean *preserve*, show a distinct difference in meaning and usage. The verb θεραπεύω is noticeably absent from the language of inscriptions and the literature surrounding activities at the asklepieion. It is clear that where divine intervention is required or expected the verbs ἰάομαι and σώζω are preferred. Both can provide a permanent quick-fix. Successful healing by physicians (where the patients recover!) is also reported with the verb ἰάομαι. In contrast, the verb θεραπεύω is reserved for the description of the long and arduous nursing of the terminally ill, or the ascetic lifestyle of the true philosopher. Both are continuous in that nursing involves much "vexation of the mind and hard work for the hands" while the true pursuit of philosophy involves a life-long commitment, and both emphasise the value of providing psychological comfort and care.

But is this difference in meaning reflected in the medical writings of the Hippokratic Corpus?

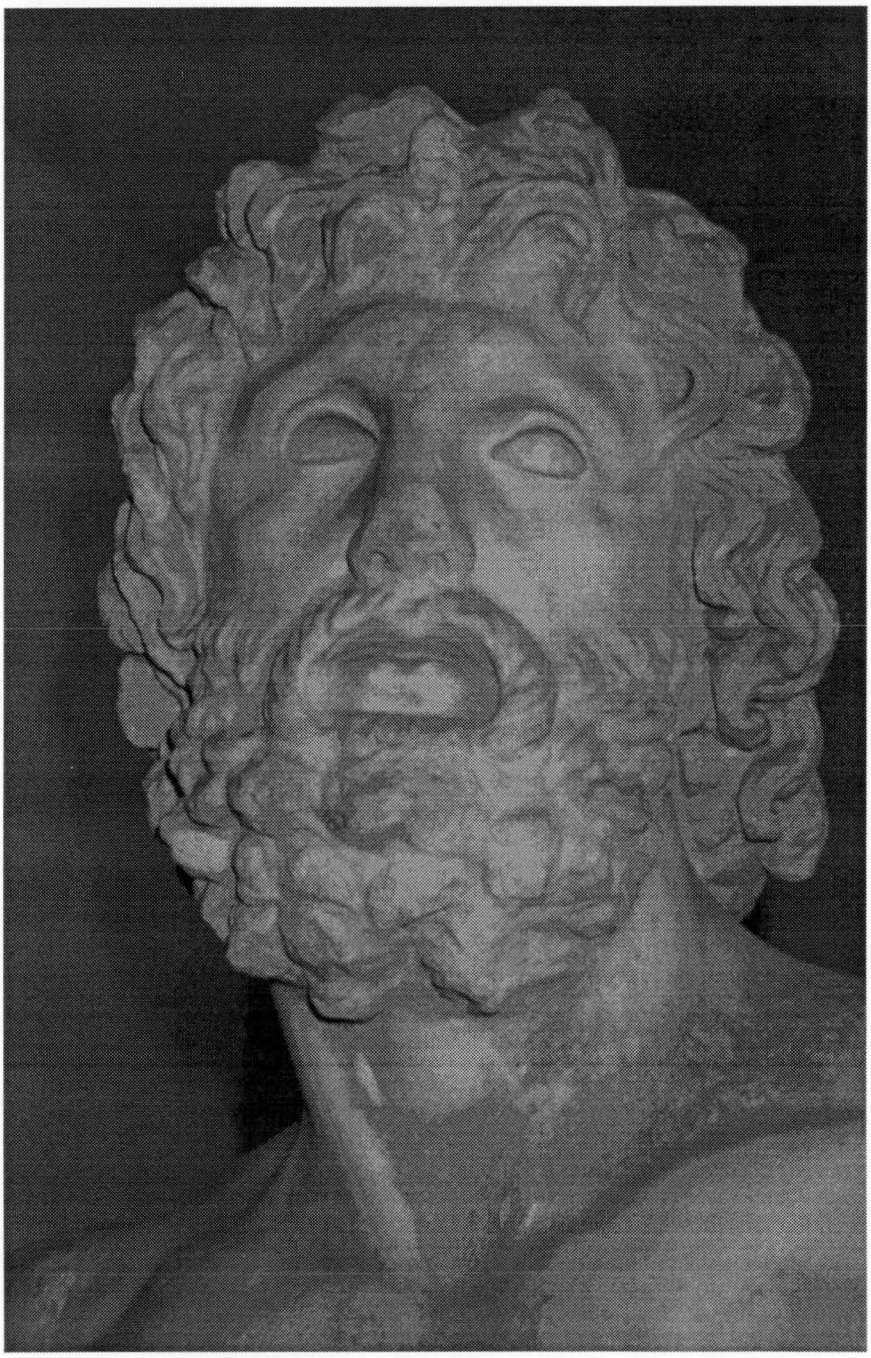

Plate 4. The "Asklepios of Mounychia." The expression of the face shows suffering and passion (Found in Piraeus) (Athens, N.M. 258)

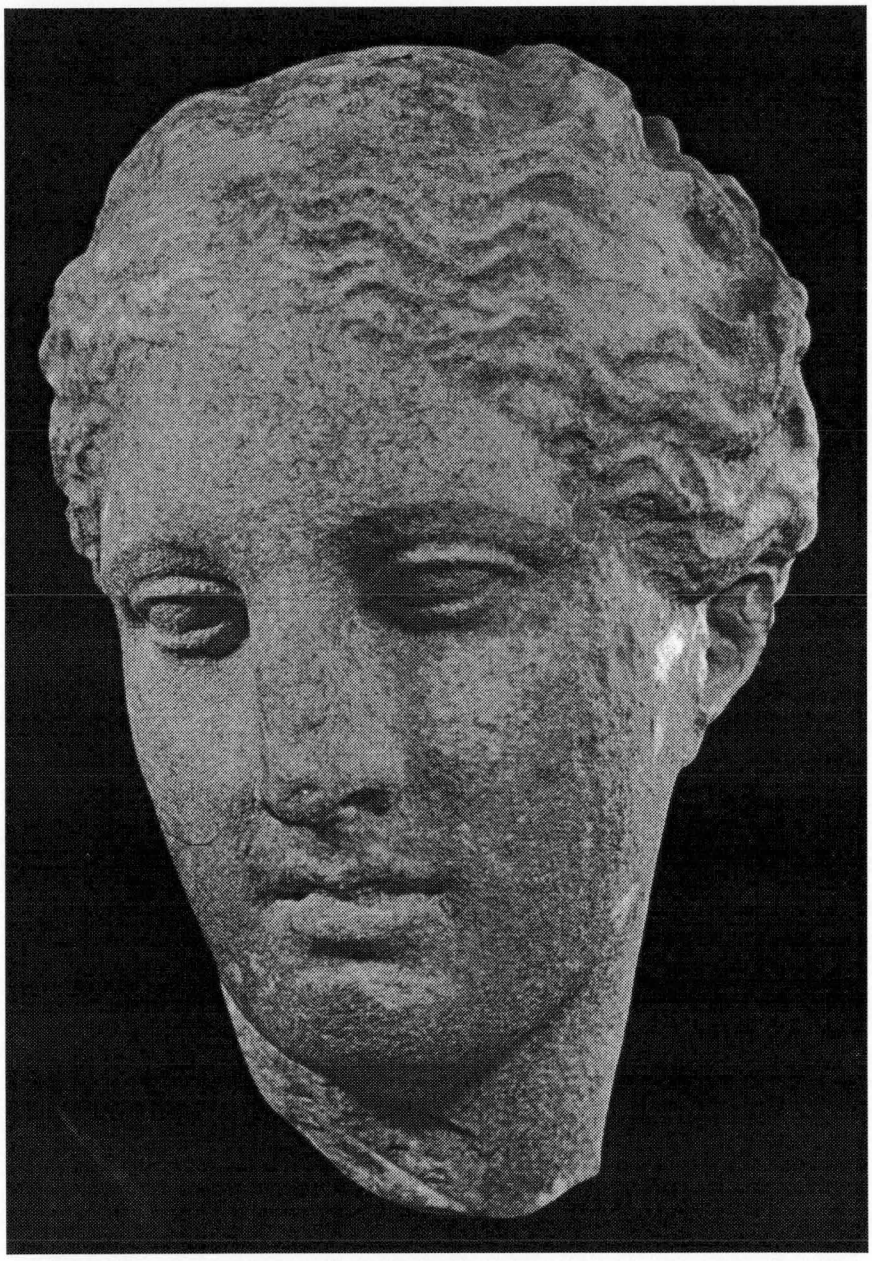

Plate 5. Head of a statue of the goddess Hygieia from Tegea, commonly attributed to the sculptor Scopas (Middle of the 4th century BC) (Athens, N.M. 3602)

Plate 6. Votive relief from the asklepieion at Athens depicting an Athenian family (Athens, N.M. 1384)

Chapter Four

Asklepios at Kos

Ancient opinion was divided as to whether the origin of the Koan Asklepios was Trikka in Thessaly, or Epidauros.[1] Modern opinion favours Trikka,[2] although the issue is still controversial.[3] As well, the discipline of archaeology, which should have contributed much to settle the issue, has not yielded as much information as might have been hoped. Indeed, the history of archaeology on the island has not been a happy one.[4] Nevertheless, it is still possible to sketch an outline of the history of the asklepieion there, and, whatever the gaps in our knowledge of the history and functioning of the asklepieion, or of its relationship to the Hippokratic medical school, the writings of the Hippokratic Corpus,[5] local inscriptions,[6] and the mimes of Herodas[7] provide an immensely rich and varied field for a study of healing language in the classical and hellenistic eras.

History[8]

Kos appears in Homer's catalogue of ships,[9] contributing (together with the islands Nisyros, Krapathos, Kasos and the Kalydnian group) a

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1 Herodotos 7.99 states that the colonists of Kos were Dorian, from Epidauros; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.61 states that Asklepios came to Kos from Argos (meaning Epidauros? Furneaux in Tacitus [1961] 138, n.7, basing his ideas on this passage in Tacitus, also assumes that Epidauros was the original seat of Asklepios, and the origin of the asklepieion at Kos); Pausanias 3.23.7 implies that Epidauros and Kos had close ties; and Julian, *Contra Galilaeos* 200 A-B agrees. However, Herodas 2.97 states that Asklepios came to Kos from Trikka.

2 Sherwin-White (1978) 335-340

3 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1886) 49f. favoured Thessaly; Hicks (in Paton and Hicks [1891] xv) Epidauros; Paton (in Paton and Hicks [1891] 347) Knidos; while Edelstein (1945) 2: 238-240, concluded that the asklepieion at Kos originated from Epidauros. Sherwin-White, (1978) 335-340, discusses the evidence for both Trikka and Epidauros and concludes that Trikka was "probably" the origin of the Koan cult. However, Jackson (1988) 143 favours Epidauros.

4 For a discussion of the problems, see Cohn-Haft (1956) 61-63; van Straten (1981) 129-132.

5 The text and translation is that of the Loeb Classical Library edition of *Hippocrates*, vols 1-6 (1968-1988). See App. 4:1.

6 The text used is that found in *Inscriptiones Creticae* I (1935), (see App. 4:3); and Paton and Hicks (1891), (see App. 4:2).

7 The text used is that found in Herodas (1904), (see App. 4:4).

8 It is not proposed, nor is it appropriate, to give a detailed history of Kos here, but rather to sketch an historical outline within which the language of healing manifest in the Hippokratic Corpus, local inscriptions, and the mimes of Herodas can be discussed. For a history of the island, see Sherwin-White (1978).

9 *Iliad* 2.676-680

contingent of thirty ships to the Greek cause. These ships were under the leadership of Pheidippos and Antiphos, "sons both of Thessalos who was born to the lord Herakles".[10] Thus the Dorian ancestry of the Koans, alluded to here in the *Iliad*, was, according to Herodotos, further strengthened by later colonisation from Epidauros.[11]

Herodotos also tells us that Kos, which had been ruled by Skythes, but whose son Kadmos had abdicated in favour of the people,[12] was, in the fifth century, included in the satrapy of the Karian queen Artemisia, and, with three other states (Halikarnassos, Nisyra, and Kalydna) contributed five ships to Xerxes' navy.[13] Later in the fifth century Kos was a tribute-paying ally of Athens,[14] and, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War was numbered among the allies of Athens.[15] In 413 BC the island suffered a major earthquake, which destroyed a large part of the town of Kos, and in 412 BC the Spartan admiral, Astyochus, invaded and sacked what was left of the city and overran the country.[16] Alkibiades fortified Kos for use as a base the following year and appointed a governor there.[17] Thus Kos suffered at the hands of both the Spartans and the Athenians during the final years of the Peloponnesian War because of its usefulness as a naval base.

In 366, as a result of faction fighting, all Koans became citizens of one city named Kos,[18] the towns of the island being δῆμοι. After this centralisation the city grew in wealth and power.[19] Kos joined the

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10 The *Iliad* twice mentions a storm sent by Hera, which swept Herakles off course to Kos on his return journey from Troy (14.249-55; 15.26-28). Herodas 2.96 refers to this, when he mentions Thessalos, the son of Herakles by Chalkiope, daughter of Eurypylos, king of Kos.

11 Herodotos 7.99

12 7.164

13 7.99: "They were the most famous in the fleet, after the contingent from Sidon." Cf. Hippokrates (1990) 114-117.

14 See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor (1950) 213.

15 Thucydides 2.9

16 ibid. 8.41

17 ibid. 8.108

18 Strabo 14.2.19: "on account of a sedition, they changed their abode to the present city ... and changed the name to Kos, the same as that of the island. Now the city is not large, but is the most beautifully settled of all, and is most pleasing to behold as one sails from the high sea to its shore." Strabo goes on to describe the wealth of the island, and its famous citizens. (Loeb 6, translated by H. L. Jones.)

19 Dio. Sic. 15.76: "... the Coans transferred their abode to the city they now inhabit and made it a notable place (ἀξιόλογον); for a large population was gathered into it, and costly walls and a considerable harbour were constructed. From this time on its public

second Athenian Alliance, but revolted in 357 (with Khios, and Rhodes, supported by Byzantium and Mausolus of Caria) which resulted in the Social War of 357-5BC.[20] Finally, the independence of the islands Kos, Khios and Rhodes, and the city of Byzantium was recognised by Athens in the peace of 354BC.

During the campaigns of Alexander the island was subdued by Alexander's generals.[21] Some of Alexander's doctors came from Kos.[22] On Alexander's death in 323 the island passed to the Ptolemies.

In 309BC Ptolemy I brought Queen Berenike to Kos and their son Ptolemy II Philadelphos was born there in that year. Kos enjoyed special privileges under the Ptolemies: it had its own mint, and became a literary centre for Alexandrian writers.[23] The painter, Apelles of Ephesus,[24] who flourished at this time, and whose works of art adorned the Kos asklepieion,[25] lived for many years at Kos.[26]

Indeed, the Koans seem to have enjoyed remarkable foresight in choosing powerful benefactors. They early supported Roman interests,[27] resisted those who would have led them to desert Rome,[28] and helped Rome prosecute the Mithridatic Wars.[29] They sheltered Roman citizens in the temple of Asklepios, when Mithridates VI was on the rampage.[30] For these reasons, and because his own physician, Xenophon, was a Koan,

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revenues and private wealth constantly increased, so much so that it became in a word a rival of the leading cities of Greece." (Loeb 7, translated by C. L. Sherman.)

20 Dio. Sic. 16.7.21

21 Ptolemaeus and Asandros (Arrian 2.5.7), and Amphoteros (Arrian 3.2.6).

22 According to Arrian 6.11.1, it was either Kritodemos, a Koan physician, or Perdiccas, who removed a potentially fatal arrow from Alexander.

23 Literary activity there is described by Theokritos (*Idyll* 7). The Koan poet, Philetas, was tutor of Ptolemy II when he was crown prince (295-2BC), and Ptolemy II Philadelphos seems to have maintained strong links with the island. For a discussion, see Nairn in Herodas (1904) xx-xxi.

24 Both Strabo (14.1.25), and Herodas (4.72), state that Apelles was from Ephesus.

25 Herodas 4.72-78; Strabo 14.2.19

26 Pliny, *Natural History* 35.36.79 describes him as a Koan, probably because he lived there for so long, and his works of art adorned the asklepieion there.

27 Livy 37.16.2

28 Polybius 30.7, 9

29 Plutarch, *Lucullus* 3.3

30 Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.4

the emperor Claudius exempted Kos from taxation.[31] Pliny described Kos as a "very famous and powerful island".[32] Pliny also mentions inscriptions in the temple that described cures, and which Hippokrates was supposed to have copied.[33] These have not been found. However it is because of its asklepieion and the Hippokratic school of medicine that Kos is chiefly remembered today.

The asklepieion at Kos

Herodas

Both Strabo[34] and Aristides[35] described the asklepieion at Kos, but the best extant description of the asklepieion at Kos occurs in the fourth mime of Herodas.[36] This mime describes the early morning visit of two women to the asklepieion, their offering, and their subsequent examination of and commentary on the works of art there. Since the mime "is a piece depicting actual life, generally the life of the common people, and employing their language",[37] this description paints a remarkable picture of the asklepieion at Kos in the third century BC.[38]

The mime is only ninety-five lines long, and is structured thus: The women salute Asklepios and his family, and offer their sacrifice and dedication.[39] Then, while the νεωκόρος[40] attends to the sacrifice, the

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31 ibid. 12.61. Xenophon, who had acquired Roman citizenship, and practised medicine in Rome, was later credited with poisoning Claudius (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.67). Xenophon maintained strong links with Kos (see below, n.160).

32 *Natural History* 29.2.4

33 ibid. See also 20.100.264, where Pliny reproduces a prescription supposed to counteract the poison of venomous animals, which was carved in verse on a stone in the temple of Asklepios at Kos. King Antiochus the Great was said to have used the preparation as an antidote for the poison af all venomous creatures except the asp.

34 14.2.19: "a temple exceedingly famous and full of numerous votive offerings, among which is the Antigonus of Apelles." Strabo also mentions votive tablets recording cures at 8.6.15, none of which have been found.

35 38.15. This is only a fleeting mention in a speech about the sons of Asklepios: according to Aristides they didn't settle in the suburbs of Kos but filled every place with their medicine. However, Aristides (38.12) does say that the Asklepiads "cured" (ἰάσαντό) Kos and made it accessible to all, both Greek and barbarian (App. 5:6, 4).

36 See App. 4:3.

37 Nairn in Herodas (1904) xxii

38 The date of the mime has been placed between 270BC and 260BC. See Nairn in Herodas (1904) 44.

39 Lines 1-20 (App. 4:4, 1-2)

40 The νεωκόρος seems to perform the function of a sacristan here: he attends to the sacrifice, reports on the omens (lines 79-80), and presumably is responsible for the opening of the doors (lines 55-56). The duties of a νεωκόρος at a healing sanctuary are clearly

women tour the asklepieion, commenting on the works of art.[41] After the νεωκόρος returns with favourable news, the women depart.[42]

The first twenty lines of the mime are rich in detail concerning Asklepios and his family, and the rite of sacrifice at the asklepieion. The mime begins with Kynno's salutation: she hails Asklepios as "Lord Paiëon,[43] ruler of Trikka, who lives at sweet Kos and Epidauros,"[44] and continues by recounting Asklepios' lineage,[45] and naming the members of Asklepios' family.[46] As usual, Hygieia enjoys pride of place,[47] but Panake, Epio, and Iaso are named as having altars dedicated to them in the Kos asklepieion.[48] Asklepios' sons, Podaleirios and Machaon, are described as "healers of savage sicknesses".[49]

After these salutations, Kynno asks Asklepios and his family to accept their sacrifice of a cock, apologising that they are not wealthy enough to afford to sacrifice an ox or a stuffed pig.[50] This is interesting, for it implies that the cock was the poor man's offering.[51] They also offer a

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delineated in an inscription from the amphiaraon at Oropis in Boeotia. See *IG* VII, no. 235 (App. 3:6).

41 Lines 20-78

42 Lines 79-95 (App. 4:4, 3-4)

43 Asklepios is addressed as ἄναξ Παίηον (1), πάτερ Παίηον (11), and Παίηον (81, 82, 85); and referred to as ὁ Παιὼν (26). For the use of this term in Homer, see above, chapter one.

44 Herodas 4, 1-2 (App. 4:4, 1). Herodas thus implies that Trikka was the origin of the asklepieions at both Epidauros and Kos, and that, at this time, these three sites were the most important of the asklepieions in the Greek world.

45 Herodas 4.3 names Koronis and Apollo as the parents of Asklepios (App. 4:4, 1).

46 4.5-9: Hygieia, Panake, Epio, Iaso, Podaleirios and Machaon (App. 4:4, 1). Cf. Hippokrates, *Oath* (App. 4:1, 4); and see App. 3:1, 1 (Athens, N.M. 1402), for a pictorial representation of Asklepios and his family.

47 The woman, Kynno, describes Asklepios touching Hygieia with his right hand at 4.4. (App. 4:4, 1). It appears that Kynno is describing a sculpted group of Asklepios and his family. Hygieia's close proximity to Asklepios in the group is consistent with portrayals of Asklepios and his family (particularly Hygieia) on reliefs from the Athenian asklepieion (see App. 3:1, 7 [Athens, N.M. 1352]; 12 [Athens, N.M. 1345]; 13 [Athens, N.M. 1335] and 16 [Athens, N.M. 1333]); and, from the Piraeus asklepieion (see App. 3:1, 4 [Piraeus Museum 405]).

48 4.5-6 (App. 4:4, 1)

49 4.8: ἰητῆρες ἀγρίων νούσων

50 4.14-16 (App. 4:4, 1). For a pictorial representation of sacrificial offerings, see App. 3:1, 13 -16 (Athens, N.M. 1335, 1429, 1333).

51 So Nairn in Herodas (1904) 46, *re* line 12; but cf. Edelstein (1945) 2: 190: "The cock was indeed the most common sacrifice; the phrase 'a cock to Asclepius' was almost proverbial, not only on account of Socrates' offering" (*Phaedo* 118a). See also 190 n.23, where Edelstein maintains that the cock may have been of importance because it was the herald

votive tablet, a pinax,[52] before ogling the works of art: statues, some sculpted by the sons of Praxiteles,[53] and paintings by Apelles of Ephesus.[54] The paintings and sculptures are described in detail,[55] and give a vivid picture of the adornment and atmosphere of the asklepieion. It was a popular place, at daylight Kynno complains about the crush of people.[56]

When the women have completed their tour the νεωκόρος returns with a favourable report on their sacrifice,[57] and the women leave, after Kynno has given instructions concerning the carving up of the cock: the νεωκόρος is to receive the leg, the snake the clotted blood and cakes of ground barley with honey,[58] and the remainder the women will take home to eat.[59] The mime concludes with the νεωκόρος complaining about his share.[60]

Thus the fourth mime of Herodas is a comic sketch of the patrons of and the ritual at the asklepieion at Kos. However, while it provides valuable insight into the nature of both patrons and ritual, it also provides a mental picture of the beauty of the sanctuary, by describing the works of art in detail, and naming some of the artists. Nor is this all. Information in the mime confirms other reports of the origin of the

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of the dawn, or because of a belief in its apotropaic nature. The sacrifice to Asklepios of a cock is mentioned in *IG* IV^2 1, no. 41 [ca. 400 BC]; and by Artemidorus, *Onirocritica* 5.9.

52 Nairn in Herodas (1904) 47, *re* line 19, describes τὸν πίνακα as "a votive tablet of painted terra-cotta, with a picture of the diseased limb, &c., upon it". See App. 3:1, 18, for examples of votive offerings of this type found at the asklepieion at Korinth.

53 4.23

54 4.72-78

55 A girl looking up at an apple (27-29), a boy strangling a goose (30-33), a statue of Batale (35-38), a naked boy so life-like his flesh throbs with life (59-62), a silver toasting-iron (62-65), an ox and its leader, and attendants (66-71). For a pictorial representation of an ox with its attendants from the asklepieion at Athens, see App. 3:1, **15** (Athens, N.M. 1429).

56 4.54-56

57 4.79-86 (App. 4:4, 3)

58 91-2: τὸν πελανὸν . . . καὶ ψαιστὰ (see App. 4:4, 4). Cf. Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 138 and 1115, for the use of these cakes in sacrifices, and App. 3:1, **13** and **14** (Athens, N.M. 1335) for a pictorial representation of such a sacrifice. See also App. 5:3, lines12-15, an inscription from Pergamon, in which the Council and Demos at Pergamon decreed that the priest should take as a perquisite the right leg and the skin of all the sacrificial animals offered in the temple, and all the other offerings dedicated on the holy table: λαμβάνειν δὲ | καὶ γέρα τῶν θυομένων ἱερείων ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι | πάντων σκέλος δεξιὸν καὶ τὰ δέρματα καὶ τἆλλα | τραπεζώματα πάντα τὰ παρατιθέμενα.

59 4.88-93 (see App. 4:4, 4)

60 4.93-95

asklepieion, and of Asklepios' lineage and family, and the language echoes other healing language and practices.

We have already met the word Paiëon, both as a title, and as an epithet.[61] In the mime it is used exclusively of Asklepios, although the language of the νεωκόρος[62] echoes the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*.[63] It is, as Nairn suggests, probably part of a liturgical formula.

Healing method appears to be one of touch. Kynno thanks Asklepios for wiping away their diseases by laying his gentle hands on them.[64] It is an image we have met before, both in inscriptions,[65] and portrayed on archaeological reliefs.[66] Indeed the image of Asklepios with his hand stretched out towards his patients is a common one on reliefs.[67] There is no evidence in the mime that Hippokratic medicine was practised at the Kos asklepieion,[68] although Herzog has surmised that it was, based on the type of votives, and medical instruments, that he excavated.[69] The evidence of Pliny would also seem to support Herzog's thesis.[70]

It is perhaps significant that women are represented as the patrons of the asklepieion in this mime. As at Athens,[71] the asklepieion at Kos was

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61 See above, chapter one.

62 See lines 82 and 85. Nairn in Herodas (1904) 56, *re* line 81, points out that lines 82-85 are probably part of a formula used regularly by the priest or νεωκόρος. See App. 4:4, 3.

63 517: ἰὴ Παίηον

64 16-19: ἴητρα | νούσων ἐποιεύμεσθα τὰς ἀπέψησας | ἐπ' ἠπίας σὺ χεῖρας, ὦ ἄναξ, τείνας

65 See, for example, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 122:31 (App. 2:2, **31**); *IG* IV^2 1, no. 126 (Apps. 2:4 and 2:5).

66 See, for example, Piraeus Museum 405 (App. 3:1, **4**) and Athens, N. M. 1841 (App. 3:1, **5**) and Athens, N. M. 2373 (App. 3:1, **6**). For a discussion, see above, chapter three.

67 See Plate 2, 42 (Athens, N.M. 173); and App. 3:1, **5** (Athens, N.M. 1841), 7 (Athens, N.M. 1352), and **11** (Athens, N.M. 1408).

68 For a discussion of whether Hippokratic medicine was practised at the asklepieion, and Herzog's opinion regarding this, see Cohn-Haft (1956) 63, n.40.

69 But cf. (i) Cohn-Haft (1956) 63, n.40, where Cohn-Haft chastises Herzog for "his arbitrary remarks on the relations between the Coan medical school and the asklepieion ... [and] his reiterated claims for the rational medicine practised at the Coan asklepieion, claims apparently based ultimately upon an act of will rather than upon any evidence", and (ii) van Straten (1981) 65-151, who, while expressing doubt about their authenticity, nevertheless lists the votives in the Meyer-Steineg collection from the Kos asklepieion (129-132), noting that some of them betray (131) "considerable anatomical knowledge".

70 *Natural History* 20.100.264. See above, n.33.

71 Women were represented more frequently in the votive offerings, see Aleshire (1989) 45-6.

more accessible to local women, than the asklepieion at Epidauros.[72] As well, they have timed their visit before the public day begins,[73] perhaps to fit in with their own daily schedule. And, as at Athens, their prayer is that they will return in full health (with larger offerings), bringing their husbands and children with them.[74] As expected by now, the word used to denote health is ὑγιής, here qualified by the adjective πολλή.[75]

Modern archaeological excavations, conducted by Herzog in 1902, discovered the asklepieion on a hill slope two miles west of the town of Kos, and revealed that the main constructions there were no earlier than the fourth century BC.[76] Thus the temple revealed is that visited by the women. Near the altar are bases of statues dedicated to Asklepios which are referred to in the fourth mime of Herodas.[77] The asklepieion was built on three terraces, cut one above the other into the hill slope. It is still a magnificent site, commanding a fine view to the coast of modern Turkey.[78]

The Hippokratic Corpus

Healing language

Kos forms a convenient centre for the study of the healing language of the body of medical writings known as the Hippokratic Corpus, for it was out of the teachings of the Kos medical school that they originated.[79]

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72 The distance from the ancient port at Epidauros to the sanctuary was far greater. See above, chapter two.

73 Kynno comments on the time of day, the opening of the door, and the growing crush of people (lines 54-6).

74 εἴη γάρ, ὦ μέγιστε, κὐγίῃ πολλῇ | ἔλθοιμεν αὖτις μέζον' ἢ' ἀγινεῦσαι | σὺν ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισί (lines 86-8). Thus, in this mime, it is the local and familial concerns of the women that are represented: a reflection of the decrees (App. 3:2), and the marble reliefs from the asklepieion at Athens (App. 3:1, 9-12 [Athens, N.M. 1431, 1384, 1408, 1345]); and a marble relief from the Piraeus asklepieion (App. 3;1, 4 [Piraeus Museum 405]).

75 86: κὐγίῃ πολλῇ

76 Herzog (1932). For a discussion of the evidence and a description of the site and its buildings, see Sherwin-White (1978) 340-346.

77 Lines 20-22f.

78 From the upper terrace one can see the town of Kos surrounded by orchards and gardens, the harbour, and, across the sea the peninsula of Knidos and the promontory of Bodrum flanking the gulf of Kos, and, to the NW the islands of Kalymnos and Pserimos.

79 Not all the treatises are Koan, however. Some are Knidian. On this issue, see Lonie (1965b) 1-30. It seems probable that the Corpus is a collection of medical treatises from varying schools, gathered together to form the library of the medical school at Kos, and attributed to Hippokrates because he was the founder of the school there. See Phillips (1973) 34, who concludes that "Hippocrates may have written some or none of the books which we have".

The Koan medical school was founded by Hippokrates in the fifth century BC.[80] Very little is known about his life, but, according to his biographers, he was born in or around 460BC,[81] and was a member of the Asklepiads, a family who claimed to be descended from Asklepios.[82] The close link between the Hippokratic school of medicine and the healing god Asklepios, and his family, is illustrated by the Hippokratic Oath, in which the physician swears by "Apollo Physician, by Asklepios, by Health, by Panakeia, and all the gods and goddesses ".[83]

Hippokrates taught medicine for a fee,[84] and was known to both Plato[85] and Aristotle.[86] His biographers stated that Hippokrates travelled widely, and was consulted by Perdiccas of Macedon. Artaxerxes of Persia wanted Hippokrates at his court,[87] and, upon his refusal,[88] asked the Koans to give him up.[89] The Koans refused.[90] He is said to have been in Athens at the time of the Great Plague, and to have treated those suffering from it.[91] He is thought to have died at Larissa in Thessaly.[92]

It is not known for certain whether Hippokrates was the author of any of the writings that bear his name.[93] However that may be, his fame and influence grew over succeeding generations until it was his name that

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80 Plato, *Protagoras* 311b

81 See Jones in Hippokrates (1972) xlii-xlvi for a survey of the literature surrounding Hippokrates' life. Three biographies exist: those of Suidas, Tzetzes and Soranus. They favour 460BC as Hippokrates' birth date, but Aulus Gellius 17.21, states that Hippokrates was older than Sokrates, which places his birth prior to 470 BC.

82 Plato, *Protagoras* 311b. See Jones in Hippokrates (1972) xliv-xlvi, and Temkin (1991) 5, 80-81. See also Smith in Hippokrates (1990) 1-18.

83 *Oath* (App. 4:1, 4). Cf. Kynno's opening salutation in the fourth mime of Herodas, 1-11.

84 Plato, *Protagoras* 311 b-c

85 *Phaedrus* 270c, *Protagoras* 311 b-c

86 *Politics* 1326^{a} 14 f.

87 Hippokrates (1990) 50-51, Letter 3

88 ibid. 52-53, Letters 5, 5a, 6, 6a

89 ibid. 54-55, Letter 8

90 ibid. 54-55, Letter 9. For a discussion of these letters, 18-19. Later Koan physicians were consulted by eastern royalty (Pliny, *Natural History* 20.100.264), Greek cities (e.g. Gortyn, see App. 4:3), and Roman emperors (e.g. Claudius, Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.61, 67).

91 See Jones in Hippokrates (1972) xliii, and Pinault (1986) 52-75.

92 The supposed grave of Hippokrates is there, and Suidas believed this to be the case. But see Phillips (1973) 186-8, for a discussion of the biographical tradition surrounding Hippokrates.

93 For a discussion of this problem see Edelstein (1967) 133-44; Lloyd (1975) 171-192; and, more recently, Temkin (1991) 5, 39f.

became synonymous with the foundation of scientific medicine,[94] a reputation entrenched and perpetuated for all time by the great second century physician Galen.[95]

The Hippokratic Corpus consists of approximately seventy works of varying age and authorship.[96] All are anonymous. Scholars have commented on the treatises and tried since antiquity to ascribe authorship to some of them, with differing degrees of success.[97] Opinion, style and medical attitude varies within the Corpus.[98] Despite this, the use of general healing terms within the Corpus remains surprisingly constant.[99]

θεραπεύω

It is at once obvious that the verb θεραπεύω is used consistently to refer to medical treatment.[100] This use is startlingly clear in *Aphorisms* where the pronouncement:

> "It is better to give no treatment (μὴ θεραπεύειν) in cases of hidden cancer; treatment (θεραπευόμενοι) causes speedy death, but to omit treatment (μὴ θεραπευόμενοι) is to prolong life"[101]

makes it self-evident that the verb θεραπεύω does not include any idea of *cure* in its meaning. It is, simply, the course of action prescribed in an attempt to improve the health or well-being of the patient. Thus θεραπεύω implies an active process, an active and continuous attempt to

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94 Seneca, *Epistulae* 95.20: Maximus ille medicorum et huius scientiae conditor. Celsus (*De Medicina, Prooemium* 6-8), also says that Hippokrates was the first to separate medicine from philosophy. Interest in Hippokrates, and Hippokratic medicine, is illustrated by the work of Erotian, a Greek lexicographer of the first century AD, who listed works ascribed to Hippokrates, and early commentators of them. For a list of works known to Erotian, see Jones in Hippokrates (1972) xxxviii-xxxix.

95 See Temkin (1973) 32-33, 58.

96 For a list, see Jones in Hippokrates (1972) xxxviii-xxxix.

97 In antiquity: Herophilus, Bacchius, Heraclides of Tarentum, Erotian, and Galen, to name a few. See Jones in Hippokrates (1972) xxxv-xlii. See also Edelstein (1967) 133-44; Phillips (1973) 28-37; and Lloyd (1975) 171-192.

98 See Lloyd (1975) 171-192; and Lonie (1965b) 1-30.

99 See App. 4:1 for a selection of references which illustrate the uses of the verbs θεραπεύω, ὑγιαίνω, ἰάομαι, and πάσχω in the Corpus.

100 See App. 4:1.

101 *Aphorisms* 6.38 (App. 4:1, 5). This can be shown to be true in contemporary medical treatment, where surgery on patients with terminal cancer has been shown to hasten the multiplication of cancer cells.

change an undesirable state of health for a better one. And, in some cases, interference of any sort can have an undesirable effect.

Another aphorism[102] states that vomiting (without fever) can be cured (σωτήριον), but implies that vomiting with fever is difficult to cure (κακόν). The verb used to prescribe treatment is θεραπεύω.[103] Thus this aphorism also makes a clear distinction between treatment (θεραπεύειν) and cure (σωτήριον). Similarly, the treatise *Ancient Medicine,* thought to have been written in the early years of the Peloponnesian War,[104] discusses the proper treatment of patients in terms of θεραπεύω.[105]

This meaning of θεραπεύω is further illustrated in the treatise *The Art,* a treatise thought to have been written at the end of the fifth century BC by a sophist who was not a physician, one who was interested not in science, but in "subtle reasonings and in literary style".[106] Thus this treatise should be particularly valuable for a pedantic and classical use of language in a medical context.[107] Again, a clear distinction is made between the notions of *treat* and *cure*:

> "It is conceded that of those treated by medicine (τῶν θεραπευομένων ὑπὸ ἰητρικῆς) some are healed (ἐξυγιαίνονται)."[108]

Indeed treatment is undertaken to prevent diseases growing worse[109] and there are differing degrees of treatment: while some patients are treated

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102 7.37. See App. 4:1, 6.

103 ibid. Note that θεραπεύω appears in the present active infinitive, implying continuous treatment.

104 Jones in Hippokrates (1972) 5, places the date of composition as between 430 and 420 BC. Jones suggests that the writer was "either Hippocrates or a very capable supporter of the medical school of which Hippocrates was a contemporary member". However, Lloyd (1975) 171-179, discusses the authorship of this treatise (and others) based on external and internal evidence, concluding (178) that "None of the evidences . . . can be said to establish with a reasonable degree of probability, let alone with certainty, the authenticity of any treatise in the Hippocratic Corpus."

105 See App. 4:1, 1, 2, and 3.

106 Jones in Hippokrates (1981) 186. Jones favours Plato's Hippias (*Protagoras* 337c-338b) as the author, basing his opinion on Hippias' style as depicted in the *Protagoras,* and comparing it with the style of *The Art* (186-9). This treatise appears in Erotian's list. See above, n.94.

107 For a selection of passages, see App. 4:1, 7, 8, 9 and 10.

108 *The Art* 4. See App. 4:1, 7.

109 *The Art* 11 (App. 4:1, 10) : τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς συνέσιός ἐστιν ἥσπερ τὸ εἰδέναι τῶν νούσων τὰ αἴτια καὶ τὸ θεραπεύειν αὐτας ἐπίστασθαι πάσῃσι τῇσι θεραπείῃσιν αἷ κωλύουσι τὰ νοσήματα μεγαλύνεσθαι (for the same intelligence is required to know the causes of

well, others are treated badly (κακῶς θεραπευομένοισι). However, by employing the art of "good" medical treatment, patients can recover (ὑγιάσθησαν).[110] The verb chosen to designate those who escape disease is ἀποφεύγω,[111] while those who recover are described in terms of ὑγιαίνω,[112] σῴζω,[113] and ἀπαλλάττω.[114] Medical attendants, i.e. those who do the nursing, are designated as οἱ θεραπεύοντες.[115] Patients are designated τῶν καμνόντων[116] and their sufferings described with the present tense of πάσχω.[117]

Perhaps the clearest use of the meaning of θεραπεύω is illustrated in the treatises known as *Regimen II-IV*,[118] which are concerned with the early detection and treatment of health problems.[119] In them the author discusses the beneficial use of certain foods and drinks, in conjunction with exercise, and gives advice on what course of action to undertake in the event of overindulgence in either food, or exercise, or both. This author finds dreams a significant indicator of impending illness.[120] Prescribed treatment has a very modern ring: attention to diet, (including the advice to eat less!), bathing, and regular exercise in the form of walking - after dinner, in the morning, and after exercise - is constantly

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diseases as to understand how to treat them with all the treatment that prevents illnesses from growing worse).

110 ibid.

111 Thucydides 2.51 uses οἱ διαπεφευγότες to designate those who recovered from the plague. For a discussion of healing language in Thucydides' account of the plague, see above, chapter three.

112 *The Art* 4: ὑγιασθεῖσιν . . . ὑγιάσθησαν (App. 4:1, **7**); *The Art* 5: ὑγιάσθησαν (App. 4:1, **8**); *The Art* 11: ὑγιανθῆναι (App. 4:1, **10**). ὑγιαίνω is also the verb chosen in *The Art* 7 to describe those who are healthy in mind (ὑγιαινούσῃ γνώμῃ), and in body (ὑγιαίνοντος σώματος). See App. 4:1, **9**.

113 *The Art* 5 : σῳζόμενοι. See App. 4:1, **8**.

114 *The Art* 7 : ἀπήλλαξαν. See App. 4:1, **9**. This is a very precise word meaning to *get off free*, or *escape*.

115 That this is a continuous exercise is illustrated by the choice of tense: the present participle here, and again - τοῖσι θεραπεύουσιν - in the same passage (*The Art* 11, App. 4:1, **10**).

116 ibid. Cf. James 5.15, where the person who is sick is designated as τὸν κάμνοντα.

117 ibid.: πάσχουσιν. For a discussion of the use of this verb by Athenian authors, see above, chapter three.

118 See Jones in Hippokrates (1979) for text and translation, and xlix-lv for a discussion. For excerpts, see App. 4:1, **12-20**.

119 As Jones points out (see above note), this is preventative medicine, a marked departure from the attitude of other treatises where the course of a disease is thought to be inexorable, and the author is interested only in prognosis (as in, for example, *Epidemics I* and *III*, and *Prognostic*).

120 *Regimen IV*

recommended.[121] Massage too is a regular feature.[122] Prayer is also recommended.[123] All these measures are active and deliberate changes in lifestyle, designed to produce a change for the better in the patient's general health. Treatment continues until the patient has recovered, and even then permanent changes in lifestyle are recommended. The verb used to designate these treatments is θεραπεύω.[124] Recovery, using the prescribed treatment, may be slow, or rapid.[125] Thus the verb θεραπεύω signifies a method whereby human health can be restored and maintained.

A much later treatise, *Decorum*,[126] further illustrates this meaning of θεραπεύω, despite being "written in a quaint and obscure manner".[127] Disagreeable drinks are denoted θεραπευόμενοι,[128] while the author notes that disease can sometimes be cured (ἰώμενα) by surgery, or relieved (βοηθεόμενα)[129] either through treatment (θεραπευόμενα), or regimen (διαιτώμενα).[130] It is obvious that θεραπεύω still denotes the method of medical treatment, which may be successful in varying degrees, while ἰάομαι retains the notion of *cure*[131] that is completely foreign to θεραπεύω.

The treatise *On Fractures*, of which E.T. Withington says that "nothing in the *Corpus* has a better claim to be by Hippocrates himself",[132] also uses

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121 For example: gentle walks (II.66 [App. 4:1, **13**]), plenty of early-morning walks, but only short ones after dinner (III.75 [App. 4:1, **15**]), long walks (III.78 [App. 4:1, **17**]; IV.88 [App. 4:1, **19**]).

122 See, for example, *Regimen* III.78; and note the use of oil in *Regimen* II.66.41-2 (App. 4:1, **13**). The verb used to describe the anointing with oil is here ἀλείφω, and is used in a purely physical sense. Cf. James 5.15.

123 *Regimen* IV.90. (App. 4:1, **20**). Jones notes here that the "Christian" corrector of ms. θ struck out the words Γῆ . . . ἤρωσιν".

124 See App. 4:1, **12-19**.

125 *Regimen* III.75 (App. 4:1, **15**)

126 See Jones in Hippokrates (1981) 269-277, and (1979) xi-xii.

127 Jones in Hippokrates (1981) 270, n.1. Jones comments (270) on its "general tortuousness of ... style". For a discussion, see 269-277.

128 *Decorum* 14 (App. 4:1, **21**)

129 Cf. the use of the cognate form of this verb in a decree from Kos (App. 4:2, line 12: τὰν βοιάθειαν), and also in the New Testament, where βοήθει μοι are the words used in Matthew's account of the Canaanite woman's request of Jesus (Mt 15.25).

130 *Decorum* 6 (App. 4:1, **22**)

131 Surgery implies a cure of a more instantaneous nature than the relief brought about by a method of extended treatment, or change in regimen. There is in these verbs (θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι) an implicit notion of aspect, that is important for an understanding of them.

132 Hippokrates (1968) 85. Withington bases his conclusion on internal evidence and ancient testimony (84-5).

the verb θεραπεύω to denote prolonged and repeated treatment for chronic conditions.[133]

But perhaps most interesting of all is the use of the noun θεραπεία in the confidentiality clause of the *Oath*,[134] a Hippokratic writing which is so well known even in contemporary society:

> "I swear . . . whatsoever I shall see or hear in the course of my profession (ἐν θεραπείῃ), as well as outside my profession (ἄνευ θεραπείης) in my intercourse with men, if it be what should not be published abroad, I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets."[135]

Here, the idea of a vocation, of a calling which provides continuous and confidential service at the most vulnerable times of life, is meant by θεραπεία. In this way θεραπεία is more than an occupation, the term implies availability, succour, understanding of and compassion for humanity.

Thus there is in the verb θεραπεύω and its cognate form the idea of continuous service, service performed with the express purpose of improving the health, and therefore the happiness, of the patient. It implies selfless and persevering care on an individual level, but does not, in and of itself, guarantee a cure.[136] The verb usually reserved for the notion of cure is ἰάομαι, or σῴζω, and for a restoration of health ὑγιαίνω.[137]

ἰάομαι

The language of the treatise *The Sacred Disease* is different.[138] The author of this treatise is sparing in his use of the verb θεραπεύω.[139]

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133 *On Fractures* 11 (App. 4:1, 23)

134 See Jones in Hippokrates (1972) 291-297 for a discussion of the problems of authorship and content. Edelstein (1967) 3-63 detects a Pythagorean influence in *Oath*.

135 See App. 4:1, 4.

136 Cf. Isocrates, *Aegineticus*, above, chapter three.

137 Cf. chapters two and three, above, and *Aphorisms* 7.37 (App. 4:1, 6); *The Art* 4, 5, 7 and 11 (App. 4:1, 7-10).

138 See App. 4:1, 24.

139 See App. 4:1, 24:3 (ὑπὸ θεραπείης) and App. 4:1, 25:11 (μὴ θεραπευθῶσι). Perhaps this is because he considers contemporary treatments (καθαρμοῖσί . . . καὶ ἐπαοιδῇσιν [1]) to be of a magical (μαγείης [21]) rather than a medical nature.

Instead he is fond of the verb ἰάομαι and its cognate forms, while reserving ὑγιαίνω to denote a restoration of health.[140]

The Sacred Disease is an early work. It was known to Bacchius,[141] and Galen,[142] and appears in Erotian's list of the genuine works of Hippokrates.[143] Its authorship and date remains controversial.[144] It has definite parallels with the treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*,[145] causing some scholars to assume identical authorship.[146] Jones however favours the notion that the author was a student of the author of *Airs, Waters, Places*, and assumes that he was a younger contemporary of Sokrates.[147] If this is so the treatise was composed at the end of the fifth century, or the beginning of the fourth century.

This author favours the cognate forms of ἰάομαι to describe the current "cure" for the disease about which he writes. So ἡ ἴησις consists of purifications and incantations (καθαρμοὺς προσφέροντες καὶ ἐπαοιδάς).[148] Familiar therapeutic practices such as bathing and certain foods are forbidden, and, instead, bizarre instructions such as the prohibition against wearing black, lying on or wearing goatskin, putting foot on foot or hand on hand are prescribed.[149] Thus the author explains that "having given nothing to eat or drink, and not having steeped their patients in baths",[150] the practitioners cannot be blamed if the "cure" is ineffective. But the "cure" the author describes is not Hippokratic in character: it does not involve the active interference on the part of the physician described, for example, in *Regimen*, nor the active cooperation of the patient in participating in long-term changes in diet and exercise. It is not surprising then that the author is sparing in his use of the verb θεραπεύω. In his single use of the verb, the author warns that the disease will be nourished and grow with the patient, unless appropriate

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140 See App. 4:1, 24:2.
141 Bacchius lived early in the third century BC.
142 See Jones in Hippokrates (1981) 129.
143 See Jones in Hippokrates (1972) xxxviii.
144 For a survey of modern scholarship, see Jones in Hippokrates (1981) 129.
145 ibid. 130-131, where Jones sets these out in parallel passages.
146 ibid. 129, 132
147 ibid. 132
148 *The Sacred Disease* 2
149 ibid.
150 ibid.

treatments (μὴ θεραπευθῶσι) be used.[151] These appropriate treatments have not been discovered. Current treatment (ὑπὸ θεραπείης)[152] is described in a disparaging tone and the author chooses ἰάομαι to describe attempts to cure the disease by such magical means.[153] However he does imply that, if it were to be discovered how to cause in men moist or dry, hot or cold, the disease could be permanently cured (ἰῷτο).[154]

Therefore, there is a distinct difference in meaning between the verbs ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω in the treatise *The Sacred Disease*. The verb ἰάομαι retains the notion of a quick and complete cure, while θεραπεύω continues to imply extended treatment, treatment that is Hippokratic in character. This idea of a cure, a quick-fix, implicit in the verb ἰάομαι in Hippokratic writings, is neatly summed up in *Aphorisms*:

> Those diseases that medicines do not cure (οὐκ ἰῆται) are cured (ἰῆται) by the knife. Those that the knife does not cure (οὐκ ἰῆται) are cured (ἰῆται) by fire. Those that fire does not cure (οὐκ ἰῆται) must be considered incurable (ἀνίατα).[155]

Thus, as in the healing language at Epidauros, and at Athens, at Kos ἰάομαι denotes a cure, while θεραπεύω describes treatment. In all centres ὑγιαίνω describes a restoration to health.

What then of those who were trained in the principles of Hippokratic medicine at Kos? For information in this regard it is necessary to turn to the evidence available in inscriptions.

Inscriptions

The medical school at Kos gained distinction in the Mediterranean world, particularly in the hellenistic period, for training the citizens of Kos as physicians.[156] Their excellence is demonstrated by the numbers of Koan

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151 See App. 4:1, 25:16.

152 The only time the author chooses the word in preference to ἡ ἴησις. See App. 4:1, 24:3.

153 *The Sacred Disease* 3: "Accordingly I hold that those who attempt in this manner to cure (ἰῆσθαι) these diseases . . . " (App. 4:1, 24:3).

154 ibid. 21 (App. 4:1, 25:21)

155 *Aphorisms* 7.87 (App. 4:1, 26)

156 For example, Alexander took a Koan physician on campaign (Arrian 6.11.1). For a discussion of the role of the physician in the Greek world, see Cohn-Haft (1956), and for the role of Kos in particular, 61-67. For the special difficulties in gaining access to Koan archaeological material, 61-62.

physicians honoured in decrees.[157] Indeed, many public physicians throughout the Greek world were of Koan origin, and inscriptions show that cities made formal requests to Kos for the recommendation and service of physicians who would live and practise in their cities.[158] If they were successful they were honoured in decrees, copies of which were sent back to Kos.[159] In this way physicians could build a successful reputation.[160]

Koan physicians were honoured by their own cities, as illustrated by the case of Xenotimos, who performed services above and beyond the call of duty during an epidemic in Kos.[161] This inscription also shows that Kos had more than one public physician, presumably practising in different demes.[162] Koan physicians were also honoured by other Greek cities where they practised, as illustrated by the Koan doctor, Hermias, who was honoured by the people of Knossos for his outstanding help during a revolution in Crete.[163]

These two decrees, although describing entirely different situations - an epidemic and battle wounds - use similar language. Both use the verb διασῴζω to describe the saving action of both physicians: Xenotimos saved many because of his zeal,[164] and worked zealously for the safety of those who were ill;[165] while Hermias saved the wounded from great dangers.[166] However there the similarity ends. Their "saving" methods are described in different language.

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157 Paton and Hicks (1891), and, as examples, Apps 4:2 and 4:3.

158 For example, *IC* I, 7 (App. 4:3), lines 2-5.

159 For example, the decree honouring Hermias, App. 4:3. For other examples, see Cohn-Haft (1956) 66, n.54.

160 Note too the case of the successful Koan physician, Xenophon, personal physician to the emperor Claudius (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.61, 67), whose name was inscribed at the Kos asklepieion (ἥρωι τῷ τᾶς πατρίδος εὐεργέτᾳ), and who carried out extensive renovations there (Furneaux in Tacitus [1961] 139, note to 12.61).

161 App. 4:2

162 App. 4:2, lines 7-10

163 App. 4:3. Hermias' services were requested by the people of Gortyn, but, during a revolution he worked willingly for all the wounded, even those from allied cities (lines 6-21). See also App. 4:5.

164 τὰ̣ς πολίτ̣α̣ς ἰσπουδ̣ά̣ζων διέσωσε πολλούς (App. 4:2, lines 14-15)

165 εἰς | τὰν σωτηρίαν τῶν νοσεύντ̣ων (App. 4:2, lines 4-5)

166 διέσωσε αὐτοῖ̣ς ἐγ | μεγάλων κινδύνων (App. 4:3, lines 12-13)

Xenotimos is lauded for his painstaking care (τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν).[167] He brought help (τὰν | βοἰάθειαν)[168] and a cure (τὰν ἄκεσιν)[169] to the afflicted (τῶν καμνόντων)[170]. The description of the sufferings (τὰς κακοπαθίας)[171] of those who were ill is reminiscent of Thucydides' description of the plague at Athens.[172] The decree, which confers a gold crown on Xenotimos[173] for his services during the epidemic, begins and ends by praising the medical skill of Xenotimos,[174] exemplified by his attention to detail,[175] and the zeal with which he undertook his task. The verb θεραπεύω, and its cognate forms, does not appear. From this we must assume that Xenotimos did not undertake the nursing of those who were ill, but visited numbers of them frequently and regularly, leaving effective medical instructions for their care.

In contrast, Hermias displayed all his zeal in looking after (ταῖς θεραπείαις) the wounded,[176] and constantly gave assistance without stint to those who called upon him.[177] The scene is somewhat different. In a battle situation those who were wounded were probably placed in locations near to one another. One can then imagine the physician not only issuing orders for their care, and supervising that care, but probably carrying the major burden of that care, providing surgical, bandaging and pharmacological treatment. One assumes from the decree that, when the people of Gortyn applied to Kos for a physician, their city of Gortyn was

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167 App. 4:2, lines 2, 9, 18 and 23

168 App. 4:2, line 12. Cf. App. 4:1, **21**, for the use of this word in the Hippokratic treatise *Decorum*, and above, n.129.

169 App. 4:2, line 13

170 App. 4:2, line 10. Cf. the Hippokratic use of this word above, and its use in the New Testament by the author of *James* (5.15).

171 App. 4:2, line 8

172 And of the sufferings of the Athenians at Syracuse. See above, chapter three.

173 App. 4:2, line 17

174 κατὰ τὰν τέ[χ]ναν τὰν | ἰατρικὰν (App. 4:2, lines 3-4, 24)

175 ἐπιμελείας (App. 4:2, lines 2, 23). This word can be translated either as *painstaking care* or *attention to detail*. The same word is used in the New Testament parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10.34). The Samaritan gave medical attention to the wounded man, and then made arrangements for him to be nursed by somebody else until he had recovered. The word ἐπιμελείας does not imply long-term continuous nursing like θεραπεύω (see above, chapter three, for a discussion of this differentiation of meaning in Isocrates' *Aegineticus*). Indeed, Xenotimos would have been too busy to have provided such care in an epidemic. Rather, he must have visited many of the citizens, leaving effective instructions for those who did the nursing.

176 App. 4:3, line 18

177 ἀπροφαίσιστ[ως διετέλει συναντῶν τοῖς παρακαλοῦσι ἑαυτό]ν (App. 4:3, lines 13-15)

without any physician at all.[178] Thus Hermias found himself in the unenviable situation of being the only man in a war zone with a reputation for medical expertise.[179] It follows that Hippokratic treatments - surgery, and treatment of wounds - would have been carried out by him alone. Normal arrangements for nursing (family, friends)[180] would not have existed. Family and friends would either have been absent, or busy. It is not surprising then that Hermias' therapeutic method is described by the noun θεραπεία.

Conclusion

What then does the use of healing language from Kos - in inscriptions, the Hippokratic Corpus, and the fourth mime of Herodas - reveal about the meaning of healing words? Is there a difference in meaning exhibited at Kos, from the healing language used at Epidauros, and at Athens?

The answer of course is negative. In fact, healing terms in literature and in inscriptions is surprisingly uniform in meaning. The verb σώζω continues to mean *rescue and preserve,* as we saw in Homer,[181] and as it was used by Athenian authors.[182] In a healing situation, the verb σώζω means to rescue and preserve from the danger of imminent death.[183] It is generally used in an aoristic aspectual sense. Patients are "saved" on a particular occasion.[184]

Similarly the verb ἰάομαι is generally used in an aoristic aspectual sense,[185] and so is the verb that is most commonly used in a miraculous situation.[186] It seems to be reserved for a quick-fix, that is complete.

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178 App. 4:3, lines 2-3. See also Cohn-Haft (1956) 64.

179 The situation is reminiscent of that in which Patroklos found himself in the *Iliad,* where he answered Eurypylos' pleas for help (11.828-831), attended to his wounds (11.844-848), and stayed to comfort and care for him (15.390-394). See above, chapter one.

180 As implied in Isocrates, *Aegineticus* 25-26.

181 *Iliad* 11.828-831

182 See above, chapter three, n.65.

183 See Apps. 4:2 and 4:3.

184 Thus escaping death as the result of a war wound (App. 4:3), or as the result of a virulent disease (App. 4:2).

185 See App. 4:1, 24, 3.

186 See App. 4:1, 24, 3; and cf. inscriptional evidence from both Epidauros and Athens.

Most common however is some form of ὑγιαίνω, signalling a restoration of former health, illustrated in inscriptions from Epidauros,[187] in decrees at Athens,[188] and in the Hippokratic Corpus.[189]

By far the most interesting however is the verb θεραπεύω and its cognate forms. It too has an aspectual aspect, but in contrast to both σῴζω and ἰάομαι, the aspect of θεραπεύω is imperfect. This is usually signalled by the use of tense,[190] or, in its cognate forms, by a description of the frequency and duration of the treatments described.[191] It is rarely used in the aorist tense,[192] and if it appears in the perfect tense it usually describes a present state achieved by long and regular therapies.[193] It embraces physical,[194] emotional,[195] spiritual[196] and psychological[197] therapies, and generally implies a permanent change in a person's way of life.[198]

But is there a change in the use of healing language at the asklepieion at Pergamon in the hellenistic and early Christian eras?

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187 See Apps. 2:1 and 2:2.

188 See Apps. 3:2 and 3:3.

189 See App. 4:1, **7-10.**

190 For example, θεραπεύω in the present tense: App. 4:1, **2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 17, 19, 21.**

191 See, for example, App. 4:1, **12, 13, 15.**

192 For example, App. 4:1, **8** (*The Art* 5) and App. 4:1, **25** (*The Sacred Disease* 16).

193 As in the inscription of Apellas (Apps. 2:4 and 2:5), and Plate 3, 43.

194 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 121:20 (App. 2:1, **20**); *IG* IV^2 1, no. 122:26 (App. 2:2, **26**); *IG* IV^2 1, no. 126 (Apps. 2:4 and 2:5) embraces physical, emotional, and psychological therapy; Isocrates, *Aegineticus* 24-28 (see above, chapter three); and Hippokrates (see App. 4:1).

195 Isocrates, *Aegineticus* 11

196 Epicurus (App. 3:5, **1**)

197 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 126 (Apps. 2:4 and 2:5)

198 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 126 (Apps. 2:4 and 2:5); Epicurus (see above, chapter three, and App. 3:5); Hippokrates (App. 4:1)

Plate 7. Portrait statue probably dated to the late Hellenistic period, after a classical prototype. It was found in the Odeum and was believed by the excavator to be a statue of Hippokrates (Kos Museum 32)

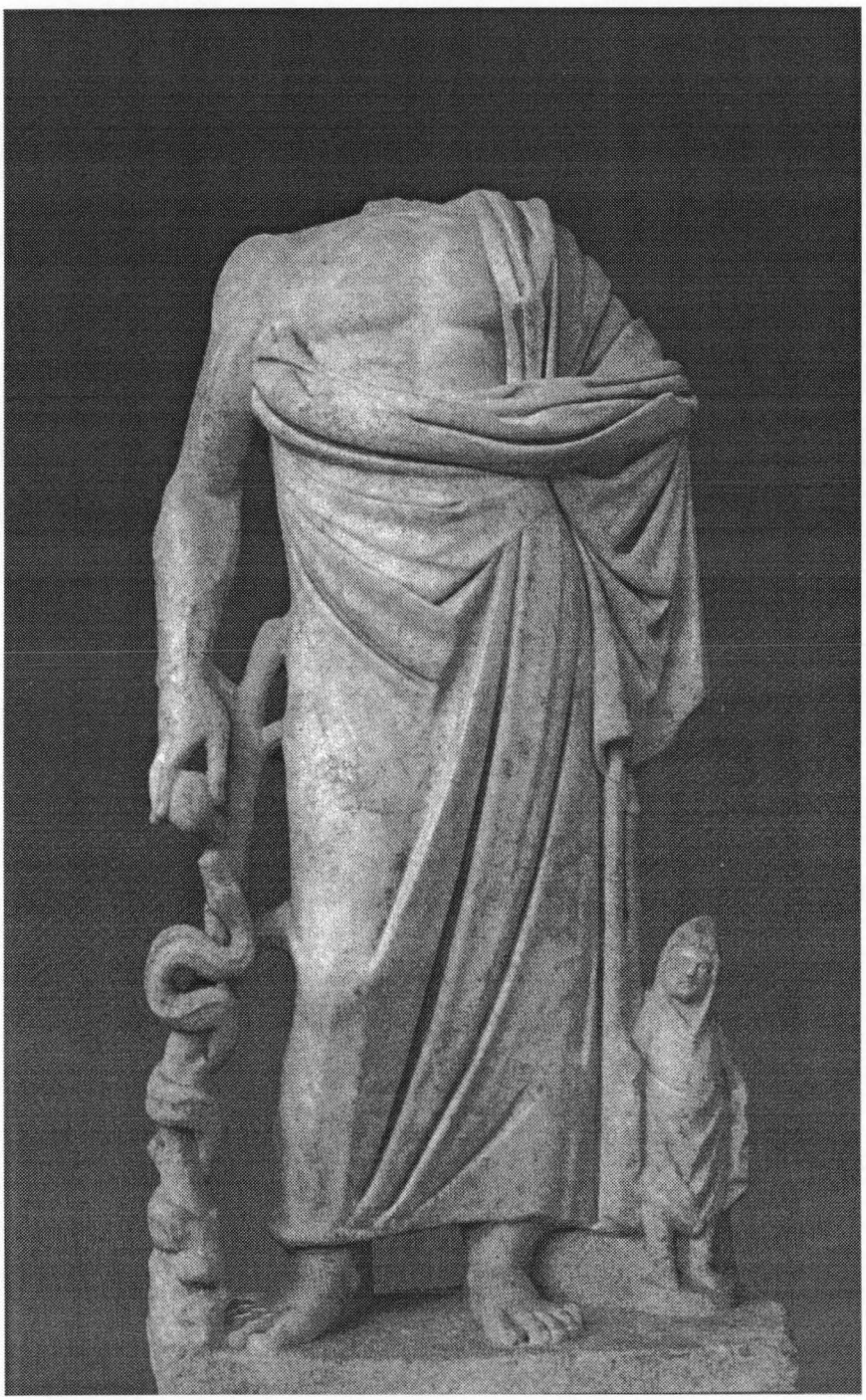

Plate 8. Headless statue of Asklepios; by his feet the figure of Telesphoros (Second half of the 2nd century AD) (Kos Museum 101)

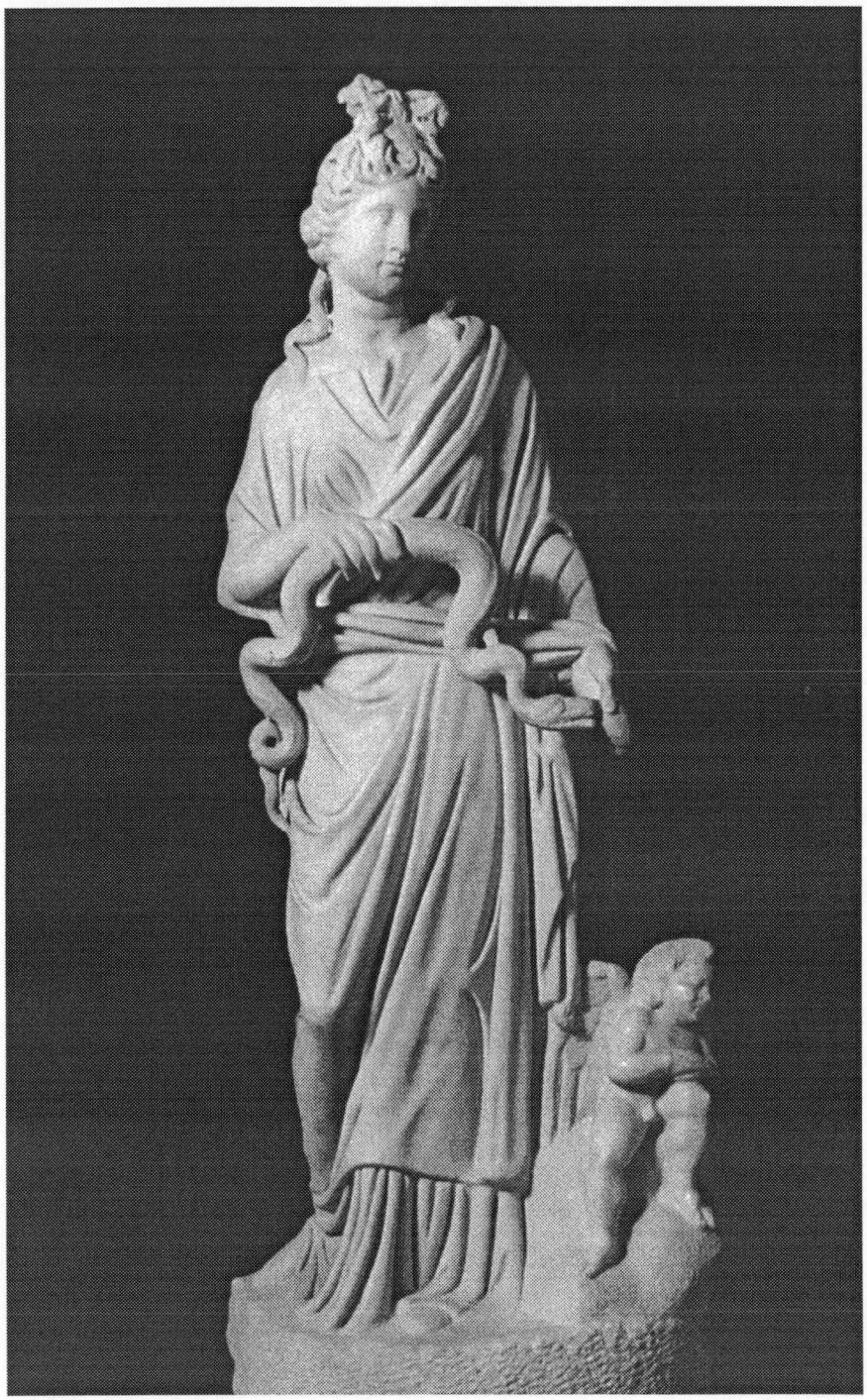

Plate 9. Statue of Hygieia. She holds a snake to which she offers an egg; by her feet the figure of Eros-Hypnos (Second half of the 2nd century AD) (Kos Museum 98)

Chapter Five

Asklepios at Pergamon

Asklepios arrived at Pergamon from Epidauros during the fourth century BC,[1] a healing site earlier associated with his father, Apollo.[2] The sanctuary to Asklepios was established in a little valley, outside the city, below the acropolis. According to Wolfgang Radt, the present Director of Excavations there, the sanctuary was continually being expanded from the beginning:

> "In the pre-Roman period alone the excavators have distinguished 18 building phases. The presently visible state of the sanctuary, however, belongs chiefly to a large-scale reorganization and extension carried out during the time of the emperor Hadrian (117-138)."[3]

It was during this century that the asklepieion reached its zenith and became the focus of pilgrims from all over the world.[4] It boasted a library, a theatre, temples, an underground passage, an elaborate water system, and flushing latrines.[5]

The asklepieion at Pergamon is rich in sources of information for a study of treatment at an asklepieion, and for the use of healing language in the Graeco-Roman world. Inscriptions, literary and medical works survive in a quantity that necessitates selection. Accordingly, this chapter will focus on a selection of inscriptions,[6] the works of the second century physician Galen,[7] and his patient, the emperor, Marcus Aurelius,[8] and the literary works of the orator Aristides.[9]

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1 Pausanias 2.26.8 states that Archias, the son of Aristaechmus, brought the god to Pergamon. This gives a probable date of 350 BC for the founding of the sanctuary.

2 It was from the acropolis at Pergamon that Apollo watched battles in the Trojan War (*Iliad* 4.507-508), and it was to this place that he spirited the wounded Aineias for healing (*Iliad* 5.445-448). See above, 8.

3 (1984) 28

4 For Pergamon as a major centre, App. 5:6, 9. For the patronage of Greeks and barbarians alike, App. 5:6, 27.

5 For diagrams, see Radt (1984) 35, 37.

6 Apps. 5:1, 5:2, and 5:3

7 App. 5:5

8 App. 5:7

9 App. 5:6

Inscriptions

Inscriptions from Pergamon reveal a similarity of practice at the asklepieion there with other asklepieia in the Greek world. One, thought to be from the second century BC, is a decree concerning the duties of and the benefits to a priest of Asklepios.[10] It complements information from other sources. Here the priesthood is hereditary in perpetuity.[11] The priest is entitled to the right leg and skin of all sacrificial animals, and all the other offerings dedicated on the holy table.[12] He is also entitled to exemption from all the obligations the city is entitled to impose,[13] and to a front seat at all the games.[14] As well, the priest is responsible for good conduct within the sanctuary,[15] and has power over the temple servants.[16] These regulations were to be enforced for all time to come (εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον).[17]

Another inscription from Pergamon[18] details the ritual required at the temple of Asklepios. The inscription mentions a period of ten days, bathing, purification, and incubation. Pure white sacrificial victims are to be garlanded with olive shoots, and the suppliant[19] is to wear neither seal-ring nor belt, but to enter barefoot.

A third inscription is a hymn of praise to Asklepios.[20] It is interesting for its use of the verb σῴζω in a nautical context,[21] and for its similarity with the gospel stories of the calming of the storm.[22] In it Asklepios is addressed as Saviour (σωτήρ), and his attendance upon request, his

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10 App. 5:3

11 Lines 7-11, App. 5:3. Cf. Aleshire (1989) 72-86 concerning the priesthood of the asklepieion at Athens.

12 Cf. Aristophanes *Ploutos* , 676-678; Herodas 4.88-90; and App. 3:1, 13 and 14

13 Cf. the struggle of Aristides to be exempt from such obligations (*Or.* 50.63-104).

14 Cf. *IG* II^2, no. 5045 [time of Hadrian]: Ἱερέως | Ἀσκληπιοῦ | Πλαίλω(ν)ος ? [inscribed on front seat in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens].

15 Cf. the inscriptions from the asklepieion at Athens (App. 3:2). The same language is used: ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν | πάσης τὸν ἱερέα ὡς ἂν αὐτῶι δοκῆι | καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ ὁσίως (lines 24-26).

16 Here: τῶν ἱερῶν παίδων (line 26).

17 App. 5:3, lines 19 and 43

18 App. 5:2

19 I assume that the person specified is a suppliant, rather than a priest.

20 App. 5:1. Herzog attributes this hymn to the orator Aristides, however this is doubted by Behr in Aristides (1973) xvi, n. 'b'.

21 App. 5:1, line 13; and cf. chapter three, n.65.

22 Mt 8.23-27. Cf. Mk 4.35-41; Lk 8.22-25

protection at sea, his calming of the winds and power over the waves are praised. The parallels with the nature and attributes of the New Testament Jesus are striking.[23]

As at Athens and Kos, physicians were also among those who patronised the asklepieion at Pergamon, and prayed to the healing god Asklepios. The most notable at this time was the great Galen himself.

Galen

Galen was born in Pergamon around the year AD 130, during the reign of the emperor Hadrian, and died at the end of the century in the time of Septimius Severus.[24] Thus his early education at Pergamon was at a time when the library there was second only to that of Alexandria, and when the asklepieion was flourishing. It was a time (in that area) of relative peace and order, where paganism was the norm, and the ideals of classical Greece were valued.

At the age of seventeen, after studying philosophy, Galen began medical studies, studies which took him from Pergamon to Smyrna, Korinth, Alexandria, and Rome.[25] He became highly respected as a physician, and, at Rome, numbered the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus amongst his patients.[26]

Galen's early study of philosophy had instilled in him a quest for "truth and knowledge".[27] As a result his pursuit of philosophical truth and his vision of medical knowledge were closely intertwined in his literary works. It was in the Hippokratic writings that Galen found his ideal.[28] Thus, in his medical practice and in his literary works Galen promoted

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23 ibid.

24 For a brief account of Galen's life and work, see the introduction by Brock to Galen (1979) xvif.; and for a discussion of the problems pertaining to his biography, Temkin (1973) 3-9.

25 This was in answer to a dream sent to his father by Asklepios. For a discussion of this and his early medical training, see Smith (1979) 62-77.

26 Brock in Galen (1979) xvii-xviii

27 *De methodo medendi* 7.1

28 Temkin (1991) 47-50. For a discussion of Galen's interpretation of Hippokratic writings see Smith (1979), especially 72-74, 83.

his understanding of Hippokratic medicine.[29] This understanding included severe criticism of his fellow physicians.[30] His literary output ensured that he not only influenced contemporary thought, but also influenced subsequent medical thought,[31] an influence that is still discernible today.[32]

It is obvious from Galen's writings that he both esteemed and sought the healing aid of the god Asklepios. He mentions the construction of the temple of Zeus Asklepios,[33] and how it was a common practice for people in their everyday-life to swear by the name of "Asklepios in Pergamon".[34] Indeed he even prayed to the god on behalf of the emperor,[35] and himself. He declared himself a servant (θεραπευτήν) of Asklepios because Asklepios had saved (διέσωσε) him from the deadly condition of an abscess. Galen reports his declaration of servitude in the imperfect tense (ἀπέφαινον), signalling that his service to Asklepios was continuous.[36]

Galen also used his association with Asklepios to lend credibility to the medical successes he claimed as his own. For example, he states that he had made healthy (ὑγιεινοὺς ἀπεδείξαμεν) men who had been ill for many years by correcting the disproportion of their emotions, a practice advocated by Asklepios. He then lists the composition of odes, comical mimes, and songs, as well as the pursuit of hunting, horse riding and exercising in arms, as among the god's successful prescriptions, describing the precise instructions issued by Asklepios in relation to the kind of hunting, the type of armour, and the duration and difficulty of the

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29 This was largely unquestioned in antiquity. It was not until the time of Paracelsus (1493-1541), that Galen's understanding of the ideas of Hippokrates was questioned. For a discussion, see Smith (1979) 13-18, 72-74, 83; and Temkin (1991) 46-50.

30 For example, a scathing attack on Asclepiades (App. 5:5, 9 and 10).

31 Temkin (1973) 1-133; Smith (1979) 13-44

32 Temkin (1973) 135f.

33 App. 5:5, 1

34 App. 5:5, 2

35 App. 5:5, 3

36 App. 5:5, 4. In contradiction to this, Smith (1979) 63, states that Galen, although called by the god, was not in service to him. Certainly Galen's medicine seems secular, but then many of the prescriptions of the god are also secular in nature (for example those involving moderate exercise and a restrained diet).

exercise to be undertaken.[37] Another source, the orator Aelius Aristides, attests to and thus corroborates very specific directions like these.[38]

Galen also notes the remarkable obedience with which the patients at the asklepieion followed bizarre directions of the god simply because they believed that the result would be of benefit to them, whereas they refused to follow the same instructions from physicians.[39] He thus acknowledges the importance of positive thinking in the therapeutic process. He cites an instruction given by the god, which forbade the patient to drink for fifteen days - a rather difficult (and dangerous?) prescription to follow. Those undergoing this long and arduous treatment are denoted τοὺς θεραπευομένους.

Another extended treatment for an unnamed disease, presumably a skin condition of some sort, advocated by the god in a dream, and described by Galen, concerned the drinking of a drug and anointment of the body every day. Galen notes that the

> "disease after a few days turned into leprosy (εἰς λέπραν); and this disease, in turn, was cured (ἐθεραπεύθη) by the drugs which the god commanded."[40]

Again θεραπεύω refers to the outcome of extended treatment.[41] Thus Galen's use of healing language in association with the asklepieion at Pergamon in the second century AD reflects earlier healing language at other asklepieia. He addresses the god as Παιών,[42] describes himself as a servant of the god with a cognate form of the verb θεραπεύω (θεραπευτήν),[43] and chooses the verb σῴζω to describe his salvation from a life-threatening abscess.[44] He describes those undergoing extended treatment as τοὺς θεραπευομένους,[45] and cures brought about by extended treatment

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37 App. 5:5, 6
38 App. 5:6, 14
39 App. 5:5, 7
40 App. 5:5, 8
41 Galen's use of θεραπεύω reflects its use by the Hippokratic authors (see chapter four, and App. 4:1), and the contemporary inscription *IG* IV^2 1, no. 126 (App. 2:4) from Epidauros.
42 Reflecting the language at Epidauros, Athens and Kos. See App. 5:5, 3.
43 App. 5:5, 4
44 ibid. This use of σῴζω also conforms to the pattern of its usage in other centres: it is used here of an escape from a life-threatening disease on a particular occasion.
45 App. 5:5, 7

with the verb θεραπεύω,[46] but reserves the verb ἰάομαι to describe the miraculous healing of a man who had swelled so excessively it was impossible for him to move himself (ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἰάσατο).[47] The restoration of health he describes with ὑγιεινός.[48]

But is this use of healing language consistent with his other works that do not refer to treatment at the asklepieion? In his treatise *On the natural faculties,* a treatise called by one of its translators the crystallisation of Galenic thought,[49] Galen uses the verb θεραπεύω three times in a critical context.[50] In a vitriolic attack on the opinions of the physician Asklepiades, Galen asks how Asklepiades' opinions profited his treatment (εἰς τὰς θεραπείας), and answers that he was unable to treat (δύνασθαι θεραπεῦσαι) various diseases.[51] After noting that Asklepiades must be "either mad, or entirely unacquainted with practical medicine"[52] Galen details his own successful treatment of jaundice. He notes that after treating the liver condition (μετὰ τὸ θεραπεῦσαι) he has then removed the disease (ἀπηλλάξαμεν τοῦ παθήματος) by a single purgation.[53] This use of the verb makes it clear that θεραπεύω denotes preliminary treatment which forms the necessary basis for further treatment that can lead to a cure.

Galen's final use of this verb occurs in a passage criticising the ideas of the Erasistrateans, where he stresses the importance of understanding the causes of bodily function, in this case digestion. For, he says, if we know the cause, we should be able to treat the failures of function (τὰ σφάλματα θεραπεύσαιμεν).[54]

Here the verb θεραπεύω occurs in the optative aorist in the apodosis of a conditional clause which allows a degree of doubt (however small) as to the outcome of a hypothetical situation. That is, the treatment should be

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46 App. 5:5, 8
47 App. 5:5, 5
48 App. 5:5, 6
49 Brock in Galen (1979) xxv, says of this work: "If Galen be looked on as a crystallisation of Greek medicine, then this book may be looked on as a crystallisation of Galen".
50 App. 5:5, 9, 10 and 11
51 App. 5:5, 9
52 App. 5:5, 10
53 ibid.
54 App. 5:5, 11

successful, but may not be (depending on the correct diagnosis of the cause of the problem). Thus Galen is consistent in his use of θεραπεύω to describe medical treatment, usually of an extended nature, that should be successful (but may not be successful in some circumstances). In this his use of θεραπεύω reflects common usage, and lends credence to Galen's assertion that, since he was convinced that the chief merit of language was clarity, so, rather than using unfamiliar terms he chose to employ in his works terms that were in common use at that time.[55]

As Galen was unquestionably the most famous physician at Pergamon,[56] so his most famous patient was the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius. In a study of the use of healing language in the Graeco-Roman world it is instructive to look at the writing of this articulate man to see how a Roman mind understood and used the verb θεραπεύω at that time.

Marcus Aurelius

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (AD 121-180), was born at Rome, educated and adopted by his guardian and uncle, the Emperor T. Antoninus Pius. Herodes Atticus and M. Cornelius Fronto were among his tutors. He was converted to Stoicism by Diognetus, and strongly influenced by Epictetus.[57] His writings "to himself" reveal a man of sincerity and dignity.

Marcus Aurelius uses the verb θεραπεύω six times in his writings, meaning *to give service* (2.13), *to give treatment* (3.13; 6.55), *to cure* (5.28;

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55 *On the natural faculties*, 1.1. Galen's assertion, and his usage, rather detracts from the thesis of Hobart (1882) 1, that the New Testament author known as Luke was a physician, because he used the technical and medical language favoured by Galen.

56 Another notable physician associated with the asklepieion at Pergamon was Rufus of Ephesus, who practised in the first century AD. In a medical work, taken from Rufus (see App. 5:4) which refers to a cure (ἴαμα) for epilepsy prescribed at the asklepieion, the verb θεραπεύω is used in the reported conversation of a patient with Asklepios (cf. the reported conversations between patient and god at Epidauros [chapter two, and Apps 2:1, 2:2, 2:3, 2:4]; and between patient and god at Athens [App. 3:4]). In this conversation Asklepios offers the patient an alternative sickness to that of epilepsy, on the grounds that "it would be easier and . . . would cure him more plainly than anything else (ἄλλου σαφέστερον θεραπεύσειν)". The patient agreed, as long as the disease was no worse than his present condition. Freed from epilepsy, he was attacked thereafter by a quartan fever. Thus θεραπεύω in this context does not refer to a complete return to health, but long-term future treatment. In this way Rufus too assumes the continuous aspect of this verb in a healing context. (For a discussion of the work and importance of Rufus of Ephesus see Smith [1979] 240-246.)

57 For a brief outline of his life see Haines in Marcus Aurelius (1979) xi-xv.

12.16), and *to fulfil one's duty* (6.12).[58] The first occurs in a prescription for human contentment:

> "[a man] needs but to associate himself with the divine 'genius' in his bosom, and to serve it truly (γνησίως θεραπεύειν). And service (θεραπεία) of it is to keep it pure from passion and aimlessness and discontent with anything that proceeds from Gods or men."[59]

Here, the verb θεραπεύω demands an introspection and a knowledge of self (and god), and a commitment to a life of action governed by that knowledge. It is thus a call to a way of living. The concept of duty is implicit in this call to service. At another place Marcus cites as an example of fulfilling one's duty the due service (ἐθεράπευες) one should give to one's stepmother, even if one's natural mother were alive.[60]

The other four instances of the verb θεραπεύω occur in a more overtly medical context, although the ideas of service and duty still appear. In a medical simile comparing the behaviour of physicians with other men, Marcus advises how to carry out any human duty well, no matter how trivial.[61] On another occasion Marcus posits the question:

> "If the sailors spoke ill of a steersman or the sick of a physician, what else would they have in mind but how the man should best effect the safety (τὸ σωτήριον) of the crew or the health of his patients (τὸ τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑγιεινόν)?"[62]

Here it is quite obvious that θεραπεύω stands for *those whom the doctor was treating at that time.* Again the context includes the notion of doing all in one's power to bring about the best possible result. Thus, so far, the verb θεραπεύω includes the notions of giving service, of living life in the best possible way, and of always trying to achieve a beneficial outcome in whatever one undertakes. The continuous aspect of the verb is self-evident.

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58 App. 5:7, 1-6
59 App. 5:7, 1
60 App. 5:7, 4
61 App. 5:7, 2
62 App. 5:7, 5

Marcus chooses θεραπεύω two more times, and on both occasions the verb means *cure*. However the method on both occasions is not medical, but didactic in nature.[63] In both passages an example of an 'illness' is given. In the first, the 'illnesses' from which the patient suffers are the personal problems of smelly armpits and foul breath. Marcus denies the productivity of anger in such a case, but advises talking with the person concerned (καὶ σὺ λόγον ἔχεις):

> "By a rational attitude (λογικῇ), then, in thyself evoke a rational attitude in him, enlighten him, admonish him. If he listen, thou shalt cure him (θεραπεύσεις), and have no need of anger."[64]

Thus it is that the λόγος is the healing agent, and this λόγος requires an active response in the listener. It is this active response to the λόγος that effects the 'cure'.[65] There is then an element of persuasion implicit in the verb θεραπεύω when it occurs in a teaching context. The illness cited is a curious example, and one that appears in Galen's work, referring to an actual person, a physician who suffered from this problem, and on that account was failing to attract patients.[66] One wonders whether this was a common problem, or whether the association between Marcus Aurelius and Galen prompted philosophical discussion between them on such issues.

Marcus also uses the verb θεραπεύω in the context of treating those who do wrong (τὸν φαῦλον ἁμαρτάνειν). For, he says, such actions stem from a certain sort of disposition. His advice:

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63 App. 5:7, 3 and 6

64 App. 5:7, 3

65 Cf. Epicurus, App. 3:5, 1

66 Galen, *Comm.* 4.9, *Epid.* 6 [17.B.151]: ἕτερον δ' ἰατρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἀσίας οἶδα δυσώδεις ἔχοντα τὰς μάλας ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ φέρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον ἄνθρωπον νοσοῦντα μηδένα καθάριον. ἐχρῆν οὖν αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἰᾶσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα καὶ οὕτως ἐπιχειρεῖν ἑτέρους θεραπεύειν. This is a notable example for Galen uses ἰᾶσθαι to mean *heal/cure*, in contrast to θεραπεύειν, which seems in this context to mean *treat medically* rather than *cure*. θεραπεύειν is also linked with the verb ἐπιχειρεῖν, a verb which means *to endeavour to..., to make an attempt...* thus involving the idea of a process which requires effort, effort which may be either successful or unsuccessful in its outcome. This particular passage is cited by Hobart (1882) 1, to support his theory that the author of the third gospel was a physician, but, as we can see here, the same illustration occurs in the writings of Marcus Aurelius, and the same language is used.

> "If then it chafes thee, cure the disposition (εἰ οὖν γοργὸς εἶ, ταύτην θεράπευσον).[67]

Obviously this is not a quick process, but one that requires instruction, and a response to a call to a different way of living.[68] It is again the λόγος that is the healing agent.

Thus the work of Marcus Aurelius illustrates several meanings of the verb θεραπεύω that are reflected in contemporary and earlier thought, including the ideas of giving service,[69] fulfilling one's duty,[70] providing medical treatment,[71] and curing through teaching.[72] In all instances the idea of a continuing process is explicit. This long-term continuous aspect of θεραπεία is also evident where Marcus acknowledges his debt to Rusticus, through whom he became

> "aware of the fact that I needed amendment and training for my character (τὸ λαβεῖν φαντασίαν τοῦ χρῄζειν διορθώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ ἤθους·)."[73]

Marcus also uses other terms found in the language of healing: he chooses the verb ὑγιαίνω when he admits to being cured of his amatory passions (ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν ἐρωτικοῖς πάθεσι γενόμενον ὑγιᾶναι).[74] When he talks of taking watchful care over himself he chooses ἐπιμέλεια (πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν ἐμαυτοῦ).[75] He also acknowledges the significance of dreams.[76] Thus the usage of healing terms in the writings of Marcus Aurelius

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67 App. 5:7, 6. It is interesting that the verb is here used in the aorist imperative (cf. Lk 4.23), implying a completed action (a change in attitude?). Again the λόγος is the healing agent, and the clientele are those who ἁμαρτάνειν.

68 The aorist active imperative singular form of θεραπεύω occurs only once in the New Testament, at Luke 4.23, in Jesus' curious saying "Ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν". It is in an attempt to explain the meaning of this saying that Hobart (1882) 1, cites Galen (see above, n.66). Hobart wanted to prove that 'Luke' was a physician, by showing this to be a medical proverb. The parallel in the work of Marcus Aurelius I find more telling, although Marcus' work would not have supported Hobart's thesis.

69 For example, the Homeric θεράπων (see chapter one).

70 Isocrates, *Aegineticus* (see chapter three).

71 Hippokrates (App. 4:1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17); and Isocrates, *Aegineticus* (see chapter three).

72 Epicurus (App. 3:1, 1)

73 App. 5:7, 8

74 App. 5:7, 10

75 App. 5:7, 9. Cf. inscriptional use of this word at Athens (chapter three, and App. 3:2) meaning *care of property, meticulous attention to detail,* and *responsibility for public order.*

76 App. 5:7, 11

reflects the healing language of his time. And like the inscription from Epidauros of the cure of Marcus Julius Apellas, the verb θεραπεύω includes a psychological element, and requires a degree of introspection on the part of the patient.[77]

This introspection is also exhibited in the works of his contemporary, the orator Aelius Aristides.

Aelius Aristides

Publius Aelius Aristides was born in Mysia in AD 117. His father was a citizen of Smyrna, a wealthy landholder, and a priest of the Temple of Zeus Olympius, who, in AD 123 was given Roman citizenship by the emperor Hadrian. He was thus in a position to give his son the finest education available. Aristides studied under Alexander of Cotiaeum (who was later to be tutor to Marcus Aurelius) and other leading sophists in Smyrna, Pergamon and Athens. He chose to become an orator and travelled extensively in the eastern Mediterranean, visiting Kos, Knidos, Rhodes, Alexandria and Egypt, before setting out to try his art in Rome.[78] On the journey he became so ill that he was unable to practise his art and returned home, still ailing, where he received his first revelation from Asklepios. This revelation, and his subsequent relationship with Asklepios, were to have a permanent effect on his life and thought.

Aristides spent two years at the asklepieion at Pergamon as an incubant,[79] a time when he was utterly immersed in contemplating his own health and spiritual life. He is thus an invaluable source for a study of the Graeco-Roman understanding of the history of Asklepios and his family and their place and role in the universe, of healing practices at the asklepieion, of the relationship between the healing god and his patients, and for a study of healing language.

According to Aristides the sons of Asklepios, Podaleirios and Machaon, played their part in history, healing the ills of cities,[80] saving their subjects,[81] and even causing the fall of Troy.[82] In their involvement in

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77 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 126 (App. 2:4)

78 For a brief outline of his life and education see Behr in Aelius Aristides (1973) vii-xiii.

79 AD 145-147

80 App. 5:6, 2

81 ibid.

history the sons of Asklepios show similarities with the Old Testament god Yahweh. However, unlike the Old Testament god, who showed divine favour to his chosen people of Israel, the healing Asklepiads were available to all, both Greek and barbarian.[83] Indeed their deified father, Asklepios, had a definite role and function within Aristides' cosmos. This role shows definite affinites with the place and role of the New Testament Jesus. For Asklepios himself, and his father Apollo, like the Old Testament Yahweh, and the New Testament Jesus, formed part of a trinity. Asklepios was

> "he who saves that which already exists and that which is in a state of becoming . . . the son of Apollo, and the third from Zeus . . . the father and maker of everything."[84]

Indeed, Asklepios having all powers (πάσας δὲ ἔχων ὁ θεὸς τὰς δυνάμεις) had chosen to be men's benefactor in every respect, establishing healing places (ἰατρεῖα) in their midst, where he ever sought to bring cheer to whosoever was in need.[85] Here, he raised (ἀναστῆναι) people from the dead,[86] restored (γενέσθαι σφίσι) the damaged limbs of men and women,[87] and delivered innumerable people from sufferings and distresses.[88] He even stretched forth his hand (ὁ θεὸς χεῖρα ὤρεξεν) to those at sea in the midst of a storm,[89] and advised people on how to settle their affairs.[90] Aristides deems Asklepios the gentlest and most manloving of the gods (ὃ δὲ θεὸς καὶ θεῶν ὁ πραότατός τε καὶ φιλανθρωπότατος),[91] as the great miracle-worker who does everything for the salvation of men (οὕτω τοῦ μεγάλου θαυματοποιοῦ καὶ πάντα ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράττοντος ἀνθρώπων).[92] It is no wonder that early Christian apologists thought of Asklepios as a threat to

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82 App. 5:6, 3

83 App. 5:6, 4, and App. 5:6, 27. Cf. also the patrons at Epidauros (chapter two), and Athens (app. 3:4).

84 App. 5:6, 10. Cf. the language of the creeds of the early Christians in Bettenson (1963) 33-37.

85 App. 5:6, 11. Cf. Mt 11.5; Lk 7.18-35

86 App. 5:6, 12. Cf. Jn 11.1-57

87 App. 5:6, 13. Cf. Mt 8.5-13; Mk 3.1-6; Lk 5.17-26; Jn 5.1-15

88 ibid. Cf. the general healing episodes in the New Testament, for example, Mt 4.24; Lk 6.17-19; and Jn 6.2.

89 App. 5:6, 15. Cf. Mt 14.31: Ἰησοῦς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα

90 ibid. Cf. Mt 5-7

91 App. 5:6, 18

92 App. 5:6, 20

the infant church,[93] and that the New Testament author of *Revelation* alluded to Pergamon as "the seat of Satan".[94]

Aristides reports extensively on healing practices prescribed by Asklepios. These include the taking of drugs, cold ablutions in rivers and the sea, extensive exercise, purgings, fasting, and the instruction to continue speaking and writing. Aristides chooses the verb ἰάομαι (ἰώμενος) and its cognate form (τοῖς ἰάμασι) to describe these cures, and θεραπεύω to summarise the various treatments (θεραπευθεῖσιν) in which the patients participated.[95]

Dreams also form a central part of the healing experience, as at other asklepieia in the Greek world.[96] Accounts of dream experiences not only describe healing prescriptions and practices, and explain miraculous cures, they are also a strong force motivating action. Thus Aristides can explain his action and motivation to his audience:

> "'Listen friends, a dream came to me, a vision sent from the gods,' said the dream itself . . . . May the dream then become waking reality, and the actual performance be like the prediction."[97]

Indeed dreams are a means of salvation for mankind (ἢ τὸ θεοὺς ἀνθρώπων κήδεσθαι ποιεῖ καὶ δι' ὀνειράτων ἀνθρώπους σῴζεσθαι;).[98] They tell patients what they must do to be saved (σωθῆναι).[99] Similarly dreams play an important part in salvific action in both the Old and New Testaments.[100]

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93 Justin, *Apologia* 54.10, 22.6; *Dialogus* 69.3; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.25

94 Revelation 2.13

95 App. 5:6, **14**. Edelstein (1945) translates this occurrence of θεραπεύω as "healed", where a much better translation would be "treatments".

96 Dreams were significant as a means of communication between the gods and men. For the ideas of Marcus Aurelius on the significance of dreams, see App. 5:7, **11**.

97 App. 5:6, **1**

98 App. 5:6, **28**

99 ibid.

100 For example, in the Old Testament, the story of Joseph as told in Genesis 37-50; and in the New Testament, Mt 2.13-15, where Joseph is told in a dream how to save the infant Jesus from Herod. Cf. also God's visit to Solomon in a dream, and their conversation (1 Kings 3.3-14); and the angel's command to Joseph in a dream to marry Mary (Mt 1.20-25).

Aristides' use of language is elegant and precise, so is particularly instructive for the study of the Greek language of healing.[101] What does his use of language reveal about the meaning of healing words like θεραπεύω, ἰάομαι, ὑγιής and σῴζω?

σῴζω

The verb σῴζω is consistently used meaning *to rescue or preserve from danger.* The original Asklepiads saved their subjects from both bodily ailments and political ills (ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν σῴζοντες τοὺς ὑπηκόους).[102] Asklepios is denoted as the saviour (σωτήρ) of the whole universe, as the one who saves that which already exists and that which is in a state of becoming (σῴζων τά τε ὄντα ἀεὶ καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα).[103] It is in a nautical metaphor that the notion of safety inherent in the verb σῴζω and its cognate forms is most clearly expressed:

> "Therefore no one would say that these regions have no harbor, but most correctly and justly is it said that this is the most secure and steadfast of all ports, receiving the greatest number of people and affording the most in tranquillity. Here, the stern-cable of salvation for all is anchored in Asklepios (οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἀλίμενα φήσαι τις ἂν εἶναι τὰ τῇδε, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ὀρθότατον καὶ δικαιότατον λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα οὗτος λιμένων ἁπάντων ὀχυρώτατος καὶ βεβαιότατος καὶ πλείστους δεχόμενος καὶ γαλήνῃ πλεῖστον προέχων, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν ἐξ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰ ἐπίγυια τῆς σωτηρίας ἧρτηται)."[104]

Asklepios is the god who has no leisure to do anything except to save men (ἐκεῖνος ἄγει σχολὴν ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἢ σῴζειν ἀνθρώπους).[105] He is a great miracle-worker who does everything for the salvation of men (οὕτω τοῦ μεγάλου θαυματοποιοῦ καὶ πάντα ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράττοντος ἀνθρώπων).[106]

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101 Behr in Aelius Aristides, (1973) xiv, says that he was "justly famous for the precision of his style. His efforts to conform to the highest canons of Atticism earned him the title 'divine' among posterity and commended him as a model to the theorists on composition." The influence of Plato, Demosthenes, and Isocrates is obvious in his work.

102 App. 5:6, **2**

103 App. 5:6, **10**. Here the influence of Platonic terminology is clearly evident, as it is in Jn 1.

104 App. 5:6, **9**. Cf. the verb σῴζω in a nautical context above, 92, and chapter three, n.65. Cf. Mt 8.23-27

105 App. 5:6, **19**

106 App. 5:6, **20**

The means of gaining this salvation is communicated through dreams.[107]

ὑγιής

Prayer is an important part of healing ritual in the life of Aristides. When he prays for health he chooses a cognate form of the verb ὑγιαίνω:

> ". . . relieve me of my disease and grant me as much health as is necessary in order that the body may obey that which the soul wishes . . . (τῆς τε νόσου παύετε καὶ διδοίητε ὑγιείας τε ὅσον οἷς ἡ ψυχὴ βούλεται τὸ σῶμα ὑπακούειν)".[108]

Indeed health (τῇ ὑγιείᾳ χρώμενος) is the means by which a remedy is found for all pains and troubles,[109] and, while the art of doctors exists for no other purpose than to cure (ποιεῖν ὑγιεῖς), many of the sick are cured without doctors and art (πολλοὶ τῶν καμνόντων ὑγιεῖς γίγνονται χωρὶς ἰατρῶν καὶ τέχνης).[110] Thus ὑγιής continues to refer to a restoration to a healthy state by human and divine means.[111]

ἰάομαι

In a healing context, the verb ἰάομαι occurs when describing the successful intervention of the god, or other members of his family, in the lives of humans. When the sons of Asklepios, Podaleirios and Machaon, dwelt among men they went about healing (ἰώμενοι) the ills of cities,[112] and healed (ἰάσαντο) Philoktetes, even though his ailment was thought to be incurable (ἀνίατον).[113] Similarly they cured (ἰάσαντο), and made accessible to all, the island of Kos.[114] Places of healing (ἰατρεῖα)[115] were established, where the healing (ἰώμενος) god[116] prescribed his cures (τοῖς ἰάμασι).[117] Many were cured (ἰάθησαν) by the water from the sacred well at

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107 App. 5:6, 28. Cf. above, n.100
108 App. 5:6, 6
109 App. 5:6, 11
110 App. 5:6, 26
111 Cf. the inscriptions at Epidauros (chapter two, and Apps 2:1, 2:2, 2:4), Athens (App. 3:2), and the Hippokratic writings (chapter four, and App. 4:1).
112 App. 5:6, 2
113 App. 5:6, 3
114 App. 5:6, 4. Cf. Septuagint, App. 6:1, 12
115 App. 5:6, 11
116 App. 5:6, 14. Cf. Septuagint, App. 6:1, 2, 26, 28
117 App. 5:6, 14

the asklepieion at Pergamon.[118] Indeed, in contrast to Asklepios, physicians were many times not only unable to cure (ἰάσασθαι) as the god could, but were even unable to identify Aristides' complaints![119]

Aristides also uses the verb ἰάομαι in a political context to denote the healing that unification, brought about by a common purpose, can bring;[120] and in a military context to denote Pharnabazus' attempt to retrieve a military situation.[121]

Does Aristides use the verb θεραπεύω in a different context?

θεραπεύω

We have already seen how Aristides sums up the various treatments prescribed by Asklepios with the verb θεραπεύω.[122] He also describes himself as one of the servants of Asklepios (τοῖς τούτου θεράπουσιν).[123] Otherwise the verb is noticeably absent from literature concerning Asklepios.[124] Perhaps this should not be surprising. We have already seen how the verb was absent from the literature surrounding the asklepieion at Athens. So in what context does Aristides choose to use the verb θεραπεύω?

A survey of two orations[125] reveals that Aristides consistently uses the verb to denote a form of *service.* The cognate form θεραπεία occurs referring to the service of the body,[126] and, in the same passage, the verb is used to describe how medicine and gymnastics, justice and legislation "ever serve aiming at the best (καὶ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον θεραπευουσῶν)" for the body and soul of humankind. The verb θεραπεύω also includes the idea of *nurture.* For, he says, as to nurture (θεραπεῦσαι) belongs to art, so

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118 App. 5:6, 21. Cf. Septuagint, App. 6:1, 13

119 App. 5:6, 27

120 App. 5:6, 44: ἰάθη; and 45: ἰάσατο

121 App. 5:6, 43: ἰωμένου

122 See above, n.95, and App. 5:6, 14: θεραπευθεῖσιν, in a passage which describes Asklepios as ἰώμενος, and his cures as τοῖς ἰάμασι.

123 App. 5:6, 18

124 The literature surveyed is that included in Edelstein (1945) vol. 1.

125 *Or.* 1 and 2. See App. 5:6, 24-47

126 App. 5:6, 24

art is the maid (θεραπαίνης) to nature (φύσις).[127] Conversely, the negated form of θεραπεύω (ἀθεραπευσίαν) means *neglect*.[128]

The verb also includes the idea of *medical treatment*, a meaning with which we are already familiar. Medical treatment is, of course, a form of service. Aristides differentiates between human and divine healing thus:

> "For many of the sick become well, some by human art, some by a divine portion. Those by human art, being treated by physicians; those by a divine portion, desire leads to what will profit them (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν καμνόντων ὑγιεῖς γίγνονται οἱ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνῃ (τέχνῃ), οἱ δὲ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἀνθρωπίνῃ τέχνῃ, ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν θεραπευόμενοι, ὅσοι δὲ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ, ἐπιθυμία αὐτοὺς ἄγει ἐπὶ τὸ ὀνῆσον)."[129]

Again, those who become well are ὑγιεῖς γίγνονται, either by divine or human means.[130] Those undergoing human treatment are designated θεραπευόμενοι, while for those who become well by divine means it is desire (ἐπιθυμία) that is the motivating force. Aristides further elaborates on human medical treatment in a passage commenting on the art of the physician who is called upon to treat patients whom he has never seen before:

> "Indeed, a doctor's art commands him to treat (θεραπεύειν) whatever chance person has requested his aid, even if someone has just now come from the ends of the earth. What of necessity is left, other than conjecture? If he will not know all men and will treat (θεραπεύσει) whoever approaches him, . . . "[131]

Here, the medical treatment is obviously one of trial and error.

Aristides also advocates the addition of oratory to a physician's medical art, as a preliminary treatment (προθεραπεύειν), before touching the

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127 App. 5:6, 29

128 App. 5:6, 39

129 App. 5:6, 25. My translation differs slightly from the Loeb translation here. I think the present passive participle θεραπευόμενοι requires a present tense translation, rather than the past and completed "cured" of the Loeb translation.

130 Cf. The inscriptions from the asklepieion at Epidauros, and the writings of the Hippokratic Corpus.

131 App. 5:6, 31

instruments of medicine. Indeed, he deems oratory the "wisest of drugs (τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τῶν φαρμάκων)."[132]

Here it is the power to persuade that is the healing agent.[133] Thus θεραπεύω in a 'teaching' context implies the ability to have an effect on the hearer that will, in turn, produce a voluntary change in the hearer's attitude and/or life-style.

The idea of *service* in the verb θεραπεύω and its cognate forms frequently appears in a discussion about the role of oratory in serving the will of the people in Aristides' second oration.[134] Aristides asks the question:

> "What method can be contrived to know and continuously serve (θεραπεῦσαι διὰ τέλους) the will of the people?"[135]

He asserts that orators do not serve pleasures (ἡδονὰς θεραπεύουσιν), but chastise desires (ἐπιθυμίας σωφρονίζουσιν),[136] and, while he denotes flatterers as servants (θεραπευταί) of tyrants, in the same passage he also says of tyrants that it is impossible to get any moderate treatment from them, to say nothing of service beyond their duty (τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸ προσῆκον θεραπείας).[137] Service beyond one's duty is a meaning of θεραπεύω we have already encountered in the writings of Marcus Aurelius.[138]

The art of oratory is not always successful of course. It did not persuade the Greek allies to fight at Salamis, instead they had to be forced into it, and undergo "treatment" (θεραπείᾳ), a treatment that was successful.[139]

Thus the verb θεραπεύω includes the ideas of medical treatment, service, nurture and persuasion in its meanings as used by Aristides. It implies a positive attitude on the part of the agent, and a receptive and active

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132 App. 5:6, 40. Cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 379-380; Plato, *Critias* 106B; Seneca, *Epistles* 75; Tertullian, *Pall.* 6

133 Cf. the λόγος of the philosopher (Epicurus, App. 3:5, 1), and of the rational man (Marcus Aurelius, App. 5:7, 3).

134 Perhaps this is not surprising in *Or.* 2 (*To Plato: In defence of oratory*)! See App. 5:6, 32-38.

135 App. 5:6, 35. Cf. Epictetus 1.19; Josephus (App. 6:2); and Philo (App. 6:3, 1, 2, 12)

136 App. 5:6, 34

137 App. 5:6, 38

138 See above, 97-101.

139 App. 5:6, 42

response on the part of the recipient. For both parties the association endures for some time. In this way the aspect of θεραπεύω and its cognate forms remains continuous.

Conclusion

A survey of a selection of inscriptions from Pergamon, and of a selection of the works of those who had some connection with the asklepieion there shows a remarkable degree of consistency in the use of healing language by authors as diverse as the orator Aristides, the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the physician Galen. As well, their use of healing language mirrors that of other asklepieia, in differing locations and at earlier times.

So what can we conclude from a study of healing language at four major asklepieia in the Mediterranean world? The most obvious result seems to be the static nature of the meaning and contextual use of words such as σῴζω, ἰάομαι and ὑγιαίνω. The verb σῴζω continues to mean the rescuing from the possibility of imminent death on particular occasions, ἰάομαι continues to denote (successful) medical treatment, and is the verb used to describe the intervention of the god and miraculous healing, while the verb ὑγιαίνω continues to imply a restoration to a previous state of (good) health.

However, the most interesting word is the verb θεραπεύω and its associated forms, for rather than remaining static, it burgeons in meaning from the loving and loyal service required of the Homeric θεράπων to include the notions of medical treatment,[140] medical nursing (involving physical drudgery and emotional support),[141] persuasive teaching that brings about a change in a person's way of life,[142] a vocation of service,[143] fulfilling one's duty,[144] and worship.[145] All these ideas are of course expressed through loving service. But it is the continuous nature of the verb θεραπεύω and its cognate forms that demands attention. That the verb also acquires a degree of introspection by the time of the New

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140 Hippokrates (App. 4:1); Galen (App. 5:5, 7)

141 Thucydides 2.47.4; 2.51.2-3, 5; Isocrates, *Aegineticus* (see chapter three).

142 Epicurus (App. 3:5, 1); Marcus Aurelius (App. 5:7, 3, 6); Aelius Aristides (App. 5:6, 40)

143 Hippokrates (App. 4:1, 4); Galen (App. 5:5, 4)

144 Marcus Aurelius (App. 5:7, 4); a decree (App. 4:3)

145 *IG* II^2, no. 974, line 24; *IG* VII, no. 235, lines 21-22

Testament is evident from its use by such diverse characters as the supplicant Marcus Julius Apellas,[146] the emperor Marcus Aurelius,[147] and the orator Aelius Aristides.[148]

That there were similarities between the nature and attributes of the pagan god, Asklepios, and the New Testament Jesus has also been noted. It is in the literary works of the orator Aristides that these similarities are most obvious.

It is important to ask then whether healing language as exemplified by its use at asklepieia in the Greek world can contribute anything to our understanding of the Greek language of healing as used by the New Testament authors.

146 *IG* IV^2 1, no. 126 (App. 2:4)
147 App. 5:7
148 App. 5:6

Part Two

The language of healing in the New Testament

καὶ περιῆγεν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ,
διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν
καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας
καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ

Matthew 4.23

Chapter Six

Jewish use of Greek healing language in the Septuagint, Philo of Alexandria, and Josephus

Before attempting a detailed study of the healing language of the New Testament, it is important to analyse the Jewish use of Greek healing language in the Septuagint,[1] and in a selection of the writings of Philo[2] and Josephus,[3] to ascertain whether there are any particularly Jewish connotations in Greek verbs such as θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι that might have a bearing on their use in the New Testament, and to ascertain how far the use of these verbs reflects their use in the healing language of the Greek world, as outlined in Part One.

Septuagint

It is at once obvious that ἰάομαι is the verb chosen to describe the healing activity of the Septuagint god,[4] while θεραπεύω describes the activity of humans,[5] except on one rare and extremely important occasion. In *Wisdom* it is God's healing λόγος which healed (ἐθεράπευσεν) all humankind, rather than the human use of herbs or poultices.[6] This is an unusual use of θεραπεύω and will be discussed below.[7] The verb ἰάομαι

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1 For the incidence of the verbs θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι in the Septuagint, based on the list given in Hatch and Redpath (1897) 648, 668, see App. 6:1.

2 Space does not allow a survey of all Philo's treatises, so a selection of four of his works was made. For the incidence of the verb θεραπεύω in these four treatises, see App. 6:3.

3 Similarly, space does not allow a survey of all Josephus' works. For the incidence of the verb θεραπεύω in *The Life, The Jewish War,* and in *Jewish Antiquities,* books 5-11, see App. 6:2.

4 Choosing a name for the Septuagint god poses a dilemma: the "Septuagint god" is clumsy, "the Lord", although more popular in the Septuagint as a title, open to ambiguity (particularly in New Testament discussions below), and "Yahweh" inappropriate, as we are dealing with Greek texts. Therefore, in the interests of a smooth text, the Septuagint god will be denoted hereafter simply as "God" in the sense of a proper noun, as "Asklepios" in Part One. Similarly, for convenience, the masculine personal pronoun will be used to refer to the Septuagint god, without in any way excluding the possibility that the Septuagint god may have had androgynous characteristics. App. 6:1 illustrates the problem of naming the Septuagint god: for example, θεός (1, 5), κύριος (2, 5, 6, 8, and so on), and Ὑψίστου (43). While recognising that the use of titles has figured in the attribution of Hebrew texts to a Priestly, Yahwist or Elohist source (see Campbell [1989] 116-121), a discussion of the origin of Hebrew texts is outside the scope of this enquiry.

5 See App. 6:1. This reflects the use of ἰάομαι in Asklepiadic literature discussed in Part One.

6 App. 6:1, 40

7 See below, 115-7, and n.69.

is the more popular verb, occurring almost three times as frequently as θεραπεύω.[8]

Like Apollo in the Greek world, God in the Jewish world is the source of both suffering and healing.[9] And, like Apollo, God also answers prayer.[10] And as Apollo's epithet is Paiëon,[11] so God is known as the healing god, the verb ἰάομαι forming an epithet.[12] When humans pray to God for healing, they do so using the verb ἰάομαι,[13] while God speaks of healing using the same verb.[14]

Problems in need of healing vary. They range from individual human emotional, spiritual and physical illnesses, and collective human spiritual ills, to the dysfunction of things necessary for the maintenance of human life, such as the water supply, and the land itself.

At this stage, then, it is important to ask questions about the healing nature and activity of God. Why does God heal? What are his healing methods? Who are his patients? Is there any clue in the answers to these questions to the meaning of general healing terms like ὑγιής, ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω in Jewish usage?

As we have already seen, the Septuagint god heals in answer to prayer.[15] In fact, the Septuagint god seems to have acute hearing, and this is just as well, for his people expect him to hear them![16] He also has an intimate

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8 Forms of ἰάομαι occur sixty-three times, θεραπεύω twenty-four times. Of these occurrences, ἰάομαι appears ten times in *Isaiah*, eight times in *Jeremiah*, seven times in *Psalms*, five times each in *Hosea* and *1-4 Kings*, four times each in *Tobit* and *Deuteronomy*, three times each in *Proverbs* and *Chronicles*, twice each in *Wisdom*, *Job* and *Leviticus*, and once each in *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Numbers*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Sirach*, *Zechariah*, *Lamentations* and *4 Maccabees*. Forms of θεραπεύω occur four times in *Tobit*, three times each in *Sirach*, *Esther* and *Proverbs*, twice each in *Wisdom*, *1-4 Kings*, *Esdras* and the *Letter of Jeremiah*, and once each in *Judith*, *Isaiah* and *Daniel*. See App. 6:1. Again this reflects the incidence of ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω in the Asklepiadic literature discussed in Part One.

9 App. 6:1, **9, 36, 57,** and **64.** For the actions of Apollo, see above, chapter one.

10 App. 6:1, **1, 15, 18, 19, 23, 44.** Cf. chapter one.

11 See above, chapter one. Asklepios also receives this epithet (App. 3:2, **6**).

12 App. 6:1, **2** and **28**: ὁ ἰώμενός; **26**: τὸν ἰώμενον. Cf. *IG* II^2, no. 4533, line 30 (App. 3:2, **6**) of Telesphoros. Cf. also Aristides (App. 5:6, **14**) of Asklepios. Cf. also the Lukan use at Acts 10.38.

13 App. 6:1, **5, 22, 24, 73**

14 App. 6:1, **2, 9, 15, 18, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 68**

15 See above, n.10.

16 App. 6:1, **1, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 44, 64**

knowledge of human emotions,[17] and human actions. When his people err, he is moved to healing action by their repentance.[18] He is a serious god, who expects to be obeyed.[19] He is capable of anger,[20] but also displays other emotions common to humans, such as love,[21] and compassion,[22] and can feel pain.[23] Thus the Septuagint portrays God as a being interested in the affairs of humankind, ready to intervene in history for the ultimate good of his people.[24]

What problems does God heal? Individual human problems reflect universal human desires, as at Epidauros.[25] The desire for children,[26] the need to be free from disease and thus able to function as part of the community,[27] the desires for freedom of movement,[28] for sight,[29] and indeed to be free from all ills,[30] feature in the Septuagint stories. As well, emotional trauma[31] and spiritual pain[32] demand the attention of the healing God. However, the healing God does not only attend to individual personal distress. Collective distress,[33] and distress caused by failures of function in the water supply,[34] and the land,[35] move God to take action.

Can anyone other than God heal? It appears that only God or his agents are capable of the healing expressed by the verb ἰάομαι. It is mostly used

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17 App. 6:1, **17**

18 App. 6:1, **18, 24, 57, 70**

19 The Septuagint god does not display the humour of the Greek healing god Asklepios (see App. 2:1, **2, 8**), although Asklepios too expects obedience from those who approach him for healing help (see App. 2:2, **35, 37**).

20 App. 6:1, **6, 7, 60, 63, 74**

21 App. 6:1, **59, 60**

22 App. 6:1, **8, 15, 18, 22, 24, 39**

23 App. 6:1, **66**

24 For a discussion of the intervention of God in history, see Campbell (1989) 316f.

25 See above, chapter two, and Apps 2:1, 2:2.

26 App. 6:1, **1**

27 App. 6:1, **3, 4**

28 App. 6:1, **22**

29 App. 6:1, **51, 52, 55, 69**

30 App. 6:1, **26**: πάσας τὰς νόσους

31 App. 6:1, **28** and **69**: τοὺς συντετρωμένους τὴν καρδίαν

32 App. 6:1, **8, 23, 24, 66**

33 App. 6:1, **19, 37, 58**

34 App. 6:1, **13**. Cf. Aelius Aristides, App. 5:6, **19, 21**

35 App. 6:1, **18, 25**

of the action of God himself,[36] although his agent Elijah repaired (ἰάσατο) the altar,[37] and Elisha treated the water supply with salt, acknowledging the result as the work of God.[38] Raphael, the angel of God, also heals, having been sent on a mission specifically for this purpose.[39]

In contrast, erring humans are unable to heal in the same way. For example, the king of Assyria was "unable to heal" (οὐκ ἠδυνάσθη ἰάσασθαι) or relieve pain.[40] The negated form of ἰάομαι also occurs denoting laziness,[41] and dissatisfaction[42] in humans, as well as the incurable nature of disease sent by God.[43] When human agents do "heal" there is always some qualification. For example, although the people of Jerusalem "heal" (ἰῶντο) the wounds of the people, they do so superficially (ἐξουθενοῦντες), mouthing the word "Peace" without there being true peace (εἰρήνη).[44] Thus their word is impotent. Indeed the healing "word" and the concept of "peace" are integral to the notion of health and healing in the Septuagint, "peace" being particularly prominent in *Isaiah*,[45] *Jeremiah*,[46] and *Sirach* in a healing context.[47] In *Sirach* εἰρήνη appears upon the face of the earth as the result of God's healing work through the agency of physicians.[48] "Peace" in this sense appears to be akin to holistic health with a spiritual emphasis, and so the Greek word εἰρήνη is used in preference to the Greek word ὑγιής.

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36 This action is mostly positive, but it can be brutally negative too. See App. 6:1, **6, 7, 61, 74,** and **75.**

37 App. 6:1, **12**

38 App. 6:1, **13**

39 App. 6:1, **51, 52, 53** and **55.** For a discussion, see below, 117-8.

40 App. 6:1, **56**

41 App. 6:1, **31**

42 App. 6:1, **80**

43 App. 6:1, **6, 7.** The parallel with the nature of an angry Apollo in the nature of God is here evident, in contrast to the benevolent natures of the New Testament Jesus, and the Greek Asklepios.

44 App. 6:1, **71.** Perhaps there is a link in meaning here with the Markan report of Jesus' words to the haemorrhaging woman (Mk 5.34).

45 App. 6:1, **66, 68**

46 App. 6:1, **71**

47 App. 6:1, **43**

48 App. 6:1, **43,** v. 8

How then does God heal? Information is rather sparse on this point. Like Asklepios, he is represented as communicating in conversation,[49] although his audience appears to be more selective than the audience of Asklepios.[50] It is through a selected group of agents that God delivers a message for all his people, a message that is usually spiritual in nature. His primary concern appears to be the spiritual health of his people. As a result, while physical ailments do attract his attention, he is also depicted as healing "mistakes".[51] This healing is dependent on a change in living, on a rearrangement of priorities, on undoing past and avoiding future "mistakes".[52] God's healing method is rarely described, and when it is, it is usually in a metaphorical sense. For example, he binds up emotional wounds,[53] and heals with his hands.[54] His mercy also heals.[55] Where physical healing is concerned usually only the result is noted. For example, Abimelech "was healed", and his wife and female slaves bore children.[56] However, on several occasions we are told that it is the λόγος of God which heals:

> "[God] sent forth his word and healed them (ἀπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰάσατο αὐτούς)",[57]

and,

> "For neither herb nor poultice healed them, but your healing word, O Lord, healed all people (καὶ γὰρ οὔτε βοτάνη οὔτε μάλαγμα ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτους, ἀλλὰ ὁ σός, Κύριε, λόγος ὁ πάντα ἰώμενος)".[58]

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49 App. 6:1, **2, 9, 13, 15, 18, 59, 60, 63, 67, 68.** Cf. Asklepios at Epidauros (Apps 2:1, 2:2, 2:3, 2:4); Athens (App. 3:4); and Pergamon (Apps 5:4, 5:6).

50 The great men and women in Jewish history: Abraham, Moses, Samuel, Elisha, Elijah, Saul, David, Solomon, the prophets, Sarah, Judith, and so on. Unfortunately we do not have evidence such as the inscriptional evidence of Epidauros for the common Jewish man and woman.

51 App. 6:1, **8:** τὰς ἁμαρτίας, usually translated as "sins". See also App. 6:1, **18, 24, 44.** Cf. Marcus Aurelius (App. 5:7, 6) and chapter five, n.67.

52 App. 6:1, **18, 57, 62, 64**

53 App. 6:1, **28**

54 App. 6:1, **36**

55 App. 6:1, **39**

56 App. 6:1, **1**

57 App. 6:1, **27**

58 App. 6:1, **40**

Human "word" too can heal, as we are told in *Proverbs*, but it can also injure:[59]

> "There are those whose words injure like swords, but the tongues of the wise bring healing (εἰσὶν οἳ λέγοντες τιτρώσκουσιν μάχαιραι, γλῶσσαι δὲ σοφῶν ἰῶνται)"[60]

Thus it is only wise human word that can heal, and the word must be heard to be effective. Similarly God's word must be heard, and also understood, and obeyed, for healing to occur: humans are rewarded according to the ways of their hearts,[61] they are healed if they pray and seek God, and turn from their wicked ways,[62] and if they pray and give up their faults, directing their hands aright.[63] If they return to God they will be healed and will live, and understand.[64] In this way "life" and "knowledge" appear to be part of God's healing. However it is possible for humans to be unaware of God's healing presence, a watchful presence that brings comfort (καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς ὡς ῥαπίζων ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τὰς σιαγόνας αὐτοῦ) and power (δυνήσομαι αὐτῷ) in love (ἀγαπήσεώς μου).[65] Thus awareness - seeing with their eyes and hearing with their ears - is an important component of the human-God relationship as portrayed in the Septuagint.[66] But ultimately it is God who is portrayed as being responsible for the nurturing of the health of the people, a health that is expressed by the Greek word εἰρήνη.[67]

Thus the verb ἰάομαι in the Septuagint denotes the activity and nature of the Septuagint God, and on occasion, of his agents. It is the preferred verb in a healing context, and is the verb that is put into God's mouth when he speaks of healing.[68] In this incidence and use it reflects the language of healing in the Greek world. In contrast the adjective ὑγιής, chosen in the Greek world to describe health, is not favoured as much as

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59 Cf. App. 6:1, **29, 33**
60 App. 6:1, **33**
61 App. 6:1, **17**
62 App. 6:1, **18**
63 App. 6:1, **44**
64 App. 6:1, **57**
65 App. 6:1, **59**
66 App. 6:1, **62.** Cf. the saying "He who has ears to hear, let him hear" (Mt 11.15).
67 App. 6:1, **66**
68 App. 6:1, **9,15, 18, 58, 60, 62, 63, 68, 70**

the Greek word εἰρήνη in the Septuagint, which includes a strong spiritual emphasis in its notion of health. But what of the verb θεραπεύω?

In contrast to the verb ἰάομαι, the verb θεραπεύω is not put into God's mouth, nor does it describe divine healing, except when it refers to the healing λόγος of God.[69] Instead the verb θεραπεύω describes the activity of humans as they repair,[70] flatter,[71] pay attention to personal presentation,[72] or give service.[73] In a medical context θεραπεύω describes medical treatment akin to modern medical nursing,[74] or is linked with the healing properties of herbs and medicines.[75]

That there is a distinct difference in the quality of physical healing denoted by ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω in the Septuagint is most clearly seen in the story of the healing of Tobit.[76] Tobit was partially blind, and went to the physicians to be treated (πρὸς τοὺς ἰατροὺς θεραπευθῆναι). The treatment was unsuccessful, for his eyesight deteriorated in proportion with the drugs (τὰ φάρμακα) he was given, until he was completely blind.[77] Thus, as in the Hippokratic writings, the use of θεραπεύω does not necessarily imply a successful outcome, but a course of treatment, which may or may not, be successful in its outcome.[78] In this story God intervened and sent the angel Raphael to heal (ἰάσασθαι) Tobit.[79] Tobit was amazed that a stranger wished to speak with him, for he described himself as a man who was living in death (ζῶν ἐγὼ ἐν νεκροῖς εἰμι), unable to see the light of heaven. His words imply that his physical affliction

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69 Wisdom 16.12 (App. 6:1, 40). According to Arndt and Gingrich (1957) 359 θεραπεύω is here used in the "one isolated instance: of God".

70 App. 6:1, 21

71 App. 6:1, 30, 32, 34

72 App. 6:1, 11

73 App. 6:1, 20, 38, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 67, 77, 78, 79

74 App. 6:1, 14. Cf. Thucydides 2.47.4, 2.51.2-3, 5; Isocrates, *Aegineticus* (see chapter three).

75 App. 6:1, 40, 43, 50

76 App. 6:1, 49-55

77 App. 6:1, 50

78 See above, chapter four.

79 App. 6:1, 51. Raphael was also sent to heal Sarah, the daughter of Raguel. In order for her to be healed, Raphael had to bind (δῆσαι) the evil demon, Asmodeus. The method has a magical ring: smoke made from the heart and liver of a fish before a person troubled by an evil spirit was supposed to ensure that the spirit never troubled that person again (Tobit 6.7-8). Cf. the treatment given to a man possessed by an evil demon by Eleazar, a contemporary of Josephus (App. 6:2, 27).

denied him social intercourse, placing him outside the community. Raphael told him to have confidence (θάρσει) that he would soon be healed by God (ἐγγὺς παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἰάσασθαί σε).[80] But when Tobit's son, Tobias, talks about his father's subsequent healing, he uses the verb θεραπεύω.[81] At this stage of the story, Tobias still believes Raphael to be a human friend, who knew the appropriate treatment for his father's condition. The treatment prescribed by Raphael was to anoint Tobit's eyes with the gall of a fish, in order to remove the white films from his eyes.[82] While Raphael consistently uses ἰάομαι in this context, Tobias understands him to be prescribing 'medical' treatment, and therefore describes his treatment with the verb θεραπεύω. When Raphael later explains that God sent him to heal Tobit, he again uses the verb ἰάομαι.[83]

This story illustrates a consistent pattern of usage in the Septuagint: divine healing is described by the verb ἰάομαι, whereas human healing treatment is described by the verb θεραπεύω. For the most part this human healing involves the use of herbs (βοτάνη)[84] or drugs (φάρμακα).[85] However it can also include the notion of nurturing care invoved in preventive medicine:

> "before you fall ill, take care of your health (καὶ πρὸ ἀρρωστείας θεραπεύου)"[86]

as well as the care given in nursing the sick or wounded. King Joram was nursed (ἐθεραπεύετο)[87] for arrow wounds, recovered sufficiently to leave his sick bed, only to be killed soon after.[88]

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80 App. 6:1, 52. Cf. Jesus' words on the water when he tells the disciples to have confidence (Mt 14.27; Mk 6.50).

81 App. 6:1, 54

82 App. 6:1, 53. The ms. ℵ prefers the verb ὑγιαίνω here, in the present tense, and describes the restoration of eyes with this disease to their former functioning state of health, a meaning reflected in the Greek Asklepiadic texts discussed in Part One. The verb ὑγιαίνω also appears at 5.20 and 5.21, signifying Tobias' safe and healthy return to his father. Luke uses the same language in his parable of the prodigal son, when describing his safe return to his father (Lk 15.27).

83 App. 6:1, 55

84 App. 6:1, 40

85 App. 6:1, 43, 50

86 App. 6:1, 41

87 App. 6:1, 14

88 4 Kings 9

What then does the Septuagint have to say about physicians and their profession?

It is in *Sirach* that the Septuagint gives advice concerning physicians and comments on their place in God's plan for health (εἰρήνη) upon the face of the earth. According to *Sirach* God created physicians, and they are therefore worthy of honour. For although healing (ἴασις) comes from God, he gave skill (ἐπιστήμην) and medicines (φάρμακα) to men, to heal (θεραπεύω) and to take away pain (ἦρεν τὸν πόνον).[89] However, if anyone is sick and prays, God will heal (ἰάσεται) that person, and, similarly, if physicians also pray, God will grant them success and gracious healing (ἴασιν χάριν). The passage ends with the rather daunting advice:

> "He who sins before his Maker, may he fall into the hands of a physician (ὁ ἁμαρτάνων ἔναντι τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτὸν ἐμπέσοι εἰς χεῖρας ἰατροῦ)!"[90]

Again this passage makes it clear that θεραπεύω in a healing context refers to human treatment (albeit using resources provided by God), while ἰάομαι refers to divine healing.

However the verb θεραπεύω only appears seven times in a healing context.[91] It appears more often in the context of giving service: to God,[92] to Wisdom (σοφία),[93] to the people of Israel,[94] to King Artaxerxes,[95] to idols,[96] and in Daniel's vision.[97] This idea of giving service is carried to its extreme in a pejorative sense in *Proverbs*, where θεραπεύω appears on three occasions in the sense of *to flatter*.[98] The verb also appears in the first book of *Esdras* in the context of making repairs to the market places and walls of Jerusalem.[99] In its negated form the verb θεραπεύω

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89 App. 6:1, **43**
90 App. 6:1, **44**
91 Sirach 18.19 (App. 6:1, **41**) 38.7 (App. 6:1, **43**); Tobit 2.10 (ℵ) (App. 6:1, **50**), twice in 12.3 (+ℵ) (App. 6:1, **54**); 4 Kings 9. 16 (App. 6:1, **14**); and Wisdom 16.12 (App. 6:1, **40**)
92 App. 6:1, **42, 48, 49, 67**
93 App. 6:1, **38**
94 App. 6:1, **20**
95 App. 6:1, **45, 46, 47**
96 App. 6:1, **77, 78**
97 App. 6:1, **79**
98 App. 6:1, **30, 32, 34**. Cf. Epictetus 1.19
99 App. 6:1, **21**

describes a state of unkemptness: Saul's son had not dressed his feet (οὐκ ἐθεράπευσεν τοὺς πόδας).[100]

Thus it can be seen that the verb θεραπεύω appears with a range of meanings in the Septuagint, meanings which include *serve, give medical care to, flatter* and *repair*. All of these meanings refer to the activity of humans, with one notable exception: when θεραπεύω describes the effect of God's healing word (λόγος . . . ἰώμενος).[101]

We have already seen how the Septuagint god communicates with his people by word, as well as action. Indeed it is his word that usually guides his people towards a right way of living, and therefore a right relationship with him. The end result of this right relationship - between humans, between humans and God, and between humans, God and the land - is εἰρήνη, a concept that is usually translated either by *health* or *peace*, in a holistic sense. Thus God's λόγος, when it is heard and acted upon, produces holistic health. In this way God's λόγος and the verb θεραπεύω have a special relationship. This relationship has implications for the significance of the use of θεραπεύω in the New Testament.[102]

But what of Jewish authors whose works were closer in time to the writings of the New Testament? Since the verb θεραπεύω appears to have acquired a specialised meaning in a Jewish spiritual and teaching context, it is important to ask whether Jewish writers of the first century use θεραπεύω in the same way as the Septuagint, or whether there is a trend in their work towards using the verb in a more medical sense. For this purpose the Jewish authors Philo and Josephus have been chosen.

Philo

Philo of Alexandria, generally known as Philo Judaeus, was born about 20 BC and lived until after AD 40.[103] He was thus a contemporary of Jesus of Nazareth, although there is no evidence that he was aware of his existence. Philo, a citizen of Alexandria, the city which was both the

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100 App. 6:1, **11**. Cf. Aelius Aristides (App. 5:6, **39**)

101 App. 6:1, **40**

102 See below, chapter seven.

103 Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 31 refers to himself as having been an old man at the time of the embassy to Caligula (AD 39-40), which implies that he was born sometime around 20 BC.

major centre of the Jewish Dispersion and the centre of Hellenic culture, was steeped in both Jewish religion and Greek philosophy. He wrote in Greek, but with a thorough knowledge of the Pentateuch as written in the Septuagint,[104] so his work is invaluable for a study of the use of Greek healing language, by a Jew, who was living at the time of the events portrayed in the New Testament.

Since Philo's writings were so voluminous, a study of his use of the verb θεραπεύω will be restricted to four of his treatises.[105] In *Every good man is free* the verb θεραπεύω appears three times, meaning *to court* [106] and *to worship*.[107] The noun θεραπευτής also appears, meaning *a servant* (of God). In his description of the Essenes, Philo remarks that:

> "they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds (ἐπειδὴ κἂν τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γεγόνοσιν, οὐ ζῷα καταθύοντες, ἀλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιοῦντες)."[108]

So devout service, in Philo's opinion, is not signalled by outward attention to ritual, but inner holiness.

This meaning becomes more evident in Philo's treatise *The Contemplative Life*, a description of a group of people known to him who called themselves the *Therapeutae* and *Therapeutrides*. Philo, discussing the significance of their name, explains that it was derived from the meaning of the verb θεραπεύω, either in its sense of *cure*, or in its sense of *worship*. He explains that his reason for attributing the sense of *cure* to the meaning is:

> "because they profess an art of healing better than that current in the cities which cures only the bodies, while theirs treats also souls oppressed with grievous and well-nigh incurable diseases, inflicted by pleasures and desires and griefs and fears, by acts of covetousness, folly and injustice and the countless host of the other passions and vices (ἤτοι παρόσον ἰατρικὴν

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104 Most of Philo's quotations come from the Pentateuch. See Philo (1971) xxviii-xxxiv.
105 See App. 6:3.
106 App. 6:3, 1, 2
107 App. 6:3, 3
108 App. 6:3, 4

> ἐπαγγέλλονται κρείσσονα τῆς κατὰ πόλεις—ἡ μὲν γὰρ σώματα θεραπεύει μόνον, ἐκείνη δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς νόσοις κεκρατημένας χαλεπαῖς τε καὶ δυσιάτοις, ἃς ἐγκατέσκηψαν ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ λῦπαι καὶ φόβοι πλεονεξίαι τε καὶ ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ἀνήνυτον πλῆθος)".[109]

Thus *to cure* in the sense of θεραπεύω involves healing the soul as well as the body, incorporating spiritual, mental, emotional and physical healing. Indeed, while not excluding the importance of physical health, the spiritual, emotional and mental health of a person appears to be more important in Philo's definition of θεραπεύω. Thus *to cure* in the sense of θεραπεύω is to strive for holistic health. How do the Therapeutae do this? The answer lies in their life of worship, the other meaning attributed by Philo to θεραπεύω. Philo gives a detailed description of the way the community lived and worshipped, particularly admiring their piety.[110]

In this way Philo makes it clear that holistic health and spiritual worship are inextricably entwined in the notion of θεραπεύω. This is further explained by Philo's definition of an incurable (ἀθεράπευτοι) disease, loss of sight. He explains that:

> "And by this I do not mean the sight of the body but of the soul, the sight which alone gives a knowledge of truth and falsehood (λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχῆς, ᾗ τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος μόνῃ γνωρίζεται)."[111]

Indeed physical and spiritual blindness is an important motif in both Greek[112] and Jewish[113] literature. This has important implications for the motifs of blindness and sight in the New Testament healing miracles.

The community of the Therapeutae consisted of both men and women.[114] They lived and worshipped in harmony, sharing their

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109 App. 6:3, **5**

110 ibid.

111 App. 6:3, **6**

112 For example, Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, where Teresias the blind prophet is the one who 'sees' the truth, and Oedipus, who cannot bear to physically see once he 'sees' the truth.

113 For example, Tobit in the Septuagint (App. 6:1, **52-55**), and Paul in the New Testament (App. 8:1, Acts 9.1-22).

114 For a discussion of the role of the women in this community, see Kraemer (1992) 113-117, 126-127. She concludes (127) that their "form of asceticism . . . did not so much change

contemplative life, and forming a single choir.[115] Philo states that their chief aim was piety,[116] and concludes that they lived in the soul alone.[117]

If we admit that Philo's definition of θεραπεύω is relevant to a study of healing language, then it is obvious that in a healing context in a spiritual work, θεραπεύω should never be understood in a purely physical sense. Indeed, Philo makes it clear that it should be understood in a primarily spiritual sense, and this spiritual sense is intensified when θεραπεύω is placed in a teaching or contemplative context.

This is borne out in Philo's other uses of θεραπεύω.[118] In *Flaccus*, an historical rather than a spiritual work, the verb θεραπεύω appears meaning to *be devoted*,[119] and to *flatter*,[120] and, as we have seen, it is only in a spiritual context in *Every good man is free* that the verb means to *worship*,[121] rather than to *court*.[122]

Even this limited survey of Philo's use of θεραπεύω shows that the verb has not acquired any great medical significance by his time, but that in a healing and teaching context it refers primarily to spiritual health and healing, while incorporating emotional, mental and some physical aspects. What then of the later Jewish writer, Josephus?

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the rules for all women as it simply redefined Therapeutic women as men". Cf. *GT*114 (Robinson [1978] 130)

115 App. 6:3, **8.**

116 ibid.

117 App. 6:3, **9**

118 In *The eternity of the world*, a treatise thought by some to be non-Philonic, the negated adjectival form of θεραπεύω is "a fatal delusion (ἀθεραπεύτῳ μανιᾳ)". See App. 6:3, **10.**

119 App. 6:3, **11**

120 App. 6:3, **12**

121 App. 6:3, **3.** Cf. **4**

122 App. 6:3, **1, 2**

Josephus

Josephus was born in Palestine of an eminent family in the year AD 37-38,[123] after the recall of Pontius Pilate from Judaea, and in the year Caligula became Emperor. As part of his education, Josephus studied the tenets of the Sadducees, the Essenes and the Pharisees, then spent three years in the wilderness as the disciple of Bannus. He became a Pharisee, visited Rome in AD 64, and on his return attempted, without success, to prevent revolt against Rome.[124] He became responsible for affairs in Galilee, and after the troubles there, was captured by the Romans in AD 67.[125] After Vespasian's accession, Josephus was freed, and returned to Jerusalem with Titus until it fell in AD 70.[126] He spent the rest of his life at Rome, writing his *History of the Jewish War,* and *Jewish Antiquities.* He was thus a Jewish priest, soldier, statesman, Roman citizen[127] and author. How does Josephus use the verb θεραπεύω?

A survey of *The Life, The Jewish War,* and books 5-11 of *Jewish Antiquities,* shows that Josephus mostly uses the verb θεραπεύω to mean to *court* or to *flatter.*[128] He uses it in the context of bribery,[129] political alliances,[130] favouritism to cities,[131] winning support,[132] and flattery.[133] However θεραπεύω can also mean to tend humans;[134] and, in a religious context, to tend objects,[135] to worship God,[136] and to serve God.[137]

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123 *Life* 1-6

124 ibid. 7-19

125 ibid. 414

126 ibid. 416-422

127 ibid. 423

128 The verb θεραπεύω occurs thirty-three times in the works surveyed. Of these occurrences the broad meaning of *to court* or *flatter* appears nineteen times. See App. 6:2, **1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28.**

129 App. 6:2, **2, 3, 6, 25**

130 App. 6:2, **1, 5, 9, 10, 11, 18, 22, 23**

131 App. 6:2, **13**

132 App. 6:2, **17, 19**

133 App. 6:2, **7, 20, 28**

134 In the sense of fulfilling a servant's duties: App. 6:2, **14.**

135 In this case the ark: App. 6:2, **26.** Cf. IG II^2, no. 1019 (App. 3:2, **10**) *re* the care of sacred property at the asklepieion at Athens.

136 App. 6:2, **24, 32**

137 App. 6:2, **8**

In a medical context, the verb θεραπεύω appears eight times in the works surveyed.[138] In five of these the patients die,[139] despite, or perhaps even because of,[140] the treatment given, so Josephus definitely does not use the verb in the sense of *cure*! One concerns a physician, who, called in to treat (θεραπεῦσαι) the patient Phasael, injected him with noxious drugs and so killed him. This particular use of θεραπεύω is cited by Arndt and Gingrich as an example of the verb meaning to *restore*,[141] a curious example, given the context. In six of the other occurrences Josephus uses the verb θεραπεύω to mean *nursing treatment*. He tells us that Herod recovered (σώζεται),[142] and that, not long after, he affectionately nursed (συμπαθῶς ἐθεράπευεν) Pheroras, a display of greater humanity (εὑρίσκετο δὲ Ἡρώδης μετριώτερος) than he had hitherto shown. However, Pheroras died after a few days. Thus θεραπεύω is invested by Josephus with an emotional quality we have witnessed before in a similar nursing context in the work of Isocrates.[143] Moreover θεραπεύω in this case also denotes a virtuous quality in the character of the carer.[144]

Later, when recounting the events surrounding Herod's death, Josephus denotes those doing the nursing, as τῶν θεραπευόντων, and Herod's different modes of treatment as θεραπεία.[145] Similarly, Joram's medical nursing care, when he was being treated for arrow wounds is described by the imperfect passive of θεραπεύω, ἐθεραπεύετο.[146] In this usage Josephus is faithful to the language of the Septuagint,[147] and also reflects Greek usage.[148]

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138 App. 6:2, **4, 12, 15, 16, 30, 31, 33,** and **34**. It also occurs at **27**, which would make its occurrence nine times in a medical context. However, as the text has been questioned, this occurrence will be discussed separately. See below, 126.

139 App. 6:2, **4, 15, 16, 31, 34**

140 App. 6:2, **4**

141 (1957)

142 This use of the verb σῴζω reflects Greek usage (see above, 64, 86-7, 109) and is also present in the New Testament (Apps 7:10, 7:11).

143 *Aegineticus*. See above, chapter three.

144 App. 6:2, **15**

145 App. 6:2, **16**

146 App. 6:2, **30**, and above, n.74.

147 App. 6:1, **14**

148 Cf. Thucydides 2.47-55; Isocrates, *Aegineticus* (chapter three); and the Hippokratic Corpus (chapter four).

Patients can recover because of their nursing treatment, or die in spite of it. Ochozias, despite receiving treatment (θεραπευόμενος), died from his wound soon after.[149] Similarly, two of Josephus' friends, taken down from Roman crucifixion at the order of Titus, died while being nursed (οἱ μὲν δύο τελευτῶσιν θεραπευόμενοι), despite the most careful treatment (θεραπείας ἐπιμελεστάτης), while a third lived (ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἔζησεν) because of it.[150] Josephus himself, after receiving medical attention (θεραπευθείς), later recovered.[151] Thus, for Josephus, the verb θεραπεύω in a medical context refers to nursing treatment, treatment which may or may not, be successful.[152] The one example in the works surveyed where the verb could be used in a spiritual healing context occurs in a doubtful text.[153] Here the text:

> "Nay, be ye righteous and, casting out wickedness from your souls and purging them, turn with all your hearts to the Deity and persevere in honouring Him (ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε δίκαιοι, καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐκβαλόντες τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτάς, ὅλαις ταῖς διανοίαις προστρέπεσθε τὸ θεῖον καὶ τιμῶντες διατελεῖτε·)"

according to Thackeray and Marcus,[154] is doubtful, and an emendation, ἀρετήν in place of αὐτάς, has been proposed, so that the text would then read 'and cultivating virtue' instead of 'and purging them'. While this emendation seems sensible, given Josephus' consistent use of θεραπεύω in the sense of 'to cultivate' in all its senses, and his rare use of the verb in a medical sense to signify anything other than nursing attention, it is possible that Josephus is using the word in the spiritual sense we have noticed in Philo's use of the verb. The text as it stands would then make perfect sense, and a better translation would be 'and (spiritually) nurturing them'. Given the context, this seems a better solution to the problem. One must be cautious, however. If Josephus is using the verb θεραπεύω in this sense, it is the only occurrence of this type in the works of Josephus that have been surveyed.

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149 App. 6:2, 31
150 App. 6:2, 34
151 App. 6:2, 33
152 Cf. the use of the verb in the Hippokratic Corpus (App. 4:1), and at Pergamon (Apps 5:4, 5:5).
153 App. 6:2, 27
154 Josephus (1977) 175, n. *d*

There remains one passage that is important in its use of the noun θεραπεία in a healing context. It is where Josephus discusses the practice of exorcism, a practice of ancient origin, that was still undertaken by his contemporaries.[155] The purpose of the passage was to glorify the wisdom of Solomon, who had left behind prescriptions for successful exorcisms. Josephus claims to have been present at such an event, carried out by one of his countrymen, Eleazar. Josephus bolsters the credibility of his account by appealing to the witness of important bystanders: no less than "Vespasian, his sons, tribunes and a number of other soldiers"! The treatment prescribed, and the incantation hinted at, is reminiscent of incantations for exorcism found in the magical papyri.[156] The prescription (θεραπεία), details procedural instructions which include the use of a ring containing a herb, and the recitation of potent words. 'Proof' that the procedure has been successful is given by the mysterious overturning of a basin of water, at the exorcist's command (προστάσσω). Clearly the procedure entails a magical element, an element that was acceptable to Josephus' audience. It is significant that the gospels of the New Testament do not recount exorcism in either the same language, or using the same magical props. In the New Testament it is generally the word of command that leads to a successful outcome.[157]

Conclusion

What then has a survey of the use of the language of healing in the Septuagint, and of the verb θεραπεύω in a selection of the writings of Philo and Josephus revealed about the Jewish use of Greek healing language?

The use of the verb ἰάομαι seems straightforward, and reflects its use in the healing language of the Greek world, as outlined in Part One. It is the God-word in the Septuagint, describing divine healing and clothing God's healing promises. This is consistent with the use of ἰάομαι to describe divine healing at Greek asklepieia.

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155 App. 6:2, 29

156 *PGM* XCIV.17-21 contains the words "depart" and "Solomon". See Betz (1986) 304. Another, *PGM* IV.1227-64, (Betz [1986] 62), gives an "excellent rite for driving out demons": it uses olive branches, placed and used a special way, a formula, and an inscribed phylactery to be worn by the patient afterwards. The formula, to be spoken over the patient's head, hails the "God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Chrestus (Chrestus here being the excellent rather than the anointed) the Holy Spirit and Son of the Father". This spell doesn't leave anything to chance! Cf. Tobit 6.16-18

157 See Mk 1.25; Mk 9.14-29. Cf. Mk 5.1-20; Mk 7.24-30

The adjective ὑγιής also describes physical health (and therefore safety) in the Septuagint, as it does in the Greek world, as well as a restoration to a former state of physical health. However when the Septuagint wishes to speak of health in a holistic sense, or with a spiritual emphasis, it uses the Greek word εἰρήνη to express this concept. In this way Jewish use differs from Greek usage.

In contrast with the verb ἰάομαι the verb θεραπεύω describes human activity in the Septuagint, except where it refers to the healing λόγος of God. This use of θεραπεύω reflects Greek use of the verb in describing human treatment, or extended treatment carried out at the command of the Greek healing god, Asklepios, but Greek usage also refers to the healing λόγος of the human philosopher.[158] The Jewish authors, Philo and Josephus, further illustrate that the use of θεραπεύω in a secular context differs greatly from its use in a spiritual context. In a spiritual and teaching context the verb θεραπεύω refers primarily to the health and well-being of the soul, and the nurturing of the God-human relationship. In this sense the verb θεραπεύω is both active and passive. When passive it describes the result of God's healing λόγος, but this result demands an active and ongoing response in the life of the hearer of the word. Thus humans can be both healed and themselves take an active part in the healing process. Jewish use of the verb θεραπεύω then can differ from Greek usage, although it generally retains its imperfect aspect when referring to human activity, whether in a spiritual or secular context.

In a spiritual or teaching context then, Jewish use of the verb θεραπεύω should be understood primarily in a spiritual sense. What significance does this have for the use of Greek healing language in the New Testament?

158 Epicurus (App. 3:5, 1)

Chapter Seven

The synoptic gospels: θεραπεύω

The synoptic authors chose to present Jesus of Nazareth as a healer *par excellence*. As Koine Greek was the lingua franca of the time it was by this medium the synoptists proclaimed their message. Thus we are bound, as they were, by the semantic networks of meaning of the Koine Greek of the first century of our era.[1] As well, we must be alert for any essentially Jewish connotations that may colour the meaning of Greek terms.[2] Therefore it is to a consideration of semantics that we must turn if we are to understand the essence of the synoptists' message. But before an analysis of the New Testament language of healing, it is important to discuss the synoptists' portrayal of the place and importance of Jesus' healing ministry in their gospels.

The place and importance of healing in the synoptic gospels

Teaching (διδάσκων), preaching (κηρύσσων), and healing (θεραπεύων),[3] were the three components of the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. His authority (ἐξουσία) to teach and preach, and the credibility of his ministry rested on his ability to perform miracles, mostly of healing. More than any other of his deeds or words while living, Jesus' healing ministry was presented by the synoptists as evidence of the divine nature of his commission. Indeed, Matthew[4] reports that Jesus himself, when asked by messengers from John the Baptist whether he was "ὁ ἐρχόμενος,"[5] listed his response to suffering in the world as his credentials:

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1 Which is why an understanding of Greek healing language as outlined in Part One is both a relevant and necessary background for an understanding of the thought of the NT authors.

2 Such as that already noted in the healing language of the Septuagint, and contemporary Jewish authors, such as Philo and Josephus.

3 Mt 4.23

4 It is not my intention to imply that "Matthew" was the author of the gospel commonly known by his name, nor that "Mark" is the author of *Mark*, nor that "Luke" is the author of *Luke-Acts*, nor that "John" is the author of *John*. It is merely for convenience that I refer to these works in this traditional way.

5 The term "ὁ ἐρχόμενος," while probably alluding to the Messiah, does not imply divinity in Jewish thought, but a divinely appointed "king", i.e. a second David, or a second Moses/liberator. It is because of this second Moses/second liberator aspect that the Messiah, in Jewish thought, was expected to perform σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα καὶ δυνάμεις as the first Moses/first liberator did in Egypt and in the Wilderness. (For example, cf. the feedings of the 4,000 [Mt 15.32-39; Mk 8.1-10] and 5,000 [Mt 14.13-21; Mk 6.30-44; Lk 9.10-17; Jn 6.1-14] with the feedings in the wilderness [Exodus 16.1-36; Numbers 11.1-35].)

"And in reply Jesus said to them, 'When you have made the journey back tell John what you see and hear: the blind see and the lame walk, lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up and the poor have good news preached to them; and blessed is he who takes no offence at me' (καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ ἃ ἀκούετε καὶ βλέπετε· τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν, καὶ νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται· καὶ μακάριός ἐστιν ὃς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί)."[6]

This is a most interesting reply. It is typical of Matthew[7] that he has Jesus quote the Old Testament - here the Septuagint version of Isaiah 35.5-6 and 61.1,[8] a passage highly charged with symbolism. Taken in a metaphorical sense it is indicative of the synoptists' portrayal of Jesus' mission: i.e. to open the eyes and ears of all people so that they could understand his message; to produce action (the lame walk); to sanctify (lepers are cleansed); to give new life (the dead are raised up); and to give hope to the hopeless (πτωχοί: the poor in spirit);[9] with the result that those who hear and understand the message are indeed blessed (μακάριος).[10]

Luke recounts a similar story,[11] while Mark, typically, prefers to portray Jesus in action. However, all three synoptists focus on Jesus' healing ministry, and its place in his struggle against evil.

The synoptists present Jesus as acknowledging evil as a present, terrifying and powerful force, as interfering with God's plan for the perfection of creation. They depict his life as the ultimate struggle against evil, in whatever form it chose to manifest itself. Jesus saw evil as always producing some kind of suffering - and he sought actively to overcome and

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6 Mt 11.4-6

7 See Hawkins (1909) 154-158; Barclay (1976) 161-164; Beare (1981) 5-49.

8 These passages in the Hebrew Bible are known to have been interpreted of the Messiah in Jewish thought. See Wilcox (1979a) 231-243.

9 Cf. Mt 5.3

10 For a discussion of the meaning of this word see de Heer (1968).

11 Lk 7.18-35. Luke's context is different: he places this story straight after Jesus has raised the widow of Nain's son from the dead. Luke also uses Isaiah 61.1-2 in his story of Jesus reading in the synagogue at Nazareth. There it is a prelude to Jesus' explanation that his message is worthy for gentiles too, which is the catalyst for his rejection by the people of Nazareth. Thus, just in this example, we can see the synoptists' use of the same material in different contexts, and for different purposes.

bind it. His ministry, without the healing component, would have been impotent. Thus the synoptists devoted more than one third of their narrative space to the description of Jesus' healing activity. If we compare each gospel we find that Mark devoted 40% of his narrative, Matthew 40% and Luke 35% to accounts of Jesus' healing ministry.[12]

The gospels of Matthew and Luke are both longer than Mark's, and both include more healing stories (twenty-five[13] each, cf. Mark: nineteen).[14] Matthew records eleven general healing episodes and fourteen specific cases.[15] He does not record any successful healings by the disciples, despite their having been given the commission and authority to do so. Luke, in contrast, cites seven healing episodes and seventeen specific cases.[16] He also records healing activity by the disciples, although not in as much detail as Mark.[17]

Luke generally gives more precise information about diseases than Matthew, sometimes more than Mark,[18] and tells of a greater number of female patients. He shares the stories of Peter's mother-in-law, Jairus' daughter, the haemorrhaging woman, and the healing of the man with the withered hand with Matthew and Mark, but gives the extra detail that Peter's mother-in-law had a high fever,[19] and that it was the man's right hand which was

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12 For an analysis see Wilkinson (1980) 18-19. It is curious that Luke, who is thought to have been especially interested in events of a medical nature, actually devotes proportionally less narrative space to these events than Matthew or Mark.

13 For a discussion of the importance of the number five, and three, seven, and ten, and multiples of them, particularly in *Matthew*, see Hawkins (1909) 163-7.

14 See Apps 7:1, 7:2, 7:3, 7:4, and 7:5.

15 See Apps 7:1 and 7:5.

16 See Apps 7:3 and 7:5.

17 For a discussion, see below, 136-8.

18 But note the instances where Mark gives a fuller account of healing miracles: 7.31-37, 9.14-29; and a fuller account of medical practices: 6.13, 7.31-37, 8.22-26.

19 Lk 4.38-39. Hobart (1882) 4, notes that Galen stated that it was usual for ancient physicians to distinguish degrees of fever in this way (*De different. febrium* 1.1 [7.275 Kühn]; *Cur. per Ven. Sect.* 6 [11.270 Kühn]), but Cadbury (1969) 51, n.1, disagrees: "Galen does not say that physicians make a technical distinction between big fevers and small ones, but - in two places - that 'big fever' is an inaccurate expression (since the nature of a fever is not defined in quantitative terms), though common among physicians", citing *De comp. medic. per genera* 3.2 (13.572 Kühn); and *De different. febrium* 1.1 (7.275 Kühn). Cadbury is anxious to refute Hobart's claims that Luke's language was medical, and therefore indicative of his belonging to the medical profession (vi). However, in this case, it could also have been an attempt to heighten the element of miracle in the story.

withered.[20] Two stories peculiar to his gospel are the cases of the bent woman,[21] and of Mary, Joanna and Susanna, who are not only named, but also described as "... some women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities...", with the added information that Joanna was the wife of Chuza, a steward of Herod Antipas, and that these women (and others) "provided for them (i.e. Jesus and his disciples) out of their means".[22] Thus Luke provides important sociological and economic information. He also emphasises Jesus' compassion,[23] and the sabbath healings.[24] It is Luke who has Jesus refer to himself as a physician,[25] and who has Jesus tell the parable of the Good Samaritan, which is significant in its account of healing practices.[26] So Luke, although using material found in both *Mark* (and *Matthew*) for many of his healing stories, provides more social information and sometimes more medical detail, uses a wider healing vocabulary and includes more healing stories.

Matthew also uses material found in *Mark*, but his language is highly stylised, following a systematic pattern: a formula for general healing (θεραπεύω plus a general statement);[27] and a formula for specific healings in response to a request made in faith: (i) *in absentia* (ἰάομαι);[28] (ii) through the touch of the patient (ἅπτομαι...σῴζω);[29] and (iii) through Jesus' touch (ἅπτομαι, κρατέω).[30] For particular healings of a similar nature his choice of words is deliberate and uniform (ἰάομαι, σῴζω, καθαρίζω). For general accounts of healing Matthew uses θεραπεύω in the active voice followed by general formulae which are vague as to the nature and extent of the healings

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20 Lk 6.6-11. Hobart (1882) 7, assumes that it is Luke's medical background that makes him distinguish which hand was withered, especially as this detail is omitted by both other synoptists. However, if we assume that the man was right-handed, this information would have elicited more sympathy from Luke's audience. Cf. other details in Lukan healing stories designed to elicit sympathy: the only daughter of Jairus (8.42); the only son of the widow of Nain (7.12).

21 Lk 13.10-17

22 Lk 8.2-3

23 For example, for the widow at Nain (7.11-18).

24 Where Mark (3.1-6) and Matthew (12.9-14) only cite the man with the withered hand, Luke includes this healing (6.6-11), but adds the stories of the bent woman (13.10-17) and the man with dropsy (14.1-6).

25 Lk 4.23. For a full discussion of this incident, see below, 155-7.

26 Lk 10.25-37. See below, 137.

27 See below, 144, 146-7.

28 See below, chapter eight; and Apps 8:3 and 8:4.

29 See below, chapter nine; and Apps 7:10, 7:11 and 7:12.

30 See below, chapter nine; and App. 7:13.

performed. These formulae, through repetition, stress the magnitude of the healings and Jesus' role as a wonder-worker.[31] In this sense, like Homeric formulae, they become extensions of personality and assume the role of epithets. Thus, for the reader, healing becomes an expected part of Jesus' behaviour.[32]

The synoptic gospels make it clear that Jesus' healing, preaching and teaching ministries formed an indissoluble unity. They went together. Each part was the logical extension of the other. Thus Jesus was concerned with the whole man: with the health of his spirit and soul, body and mind. Mental distress, bodily pain, poverty and hunger all moved him with compassion. He saw all suffering, whatever its form, as the manifestation of evil. He saw his role as a struggle against suffering and evil. It is the combination of his perception of evil,[33] his holistic approach to the health of humankind,[34] and his compassion[35] that set him apart from all other wonder-workers.[36] In this he exhibits a completely new approach to medicine and to humankind, and reveals a new perception of God.

Mark

Mark, as the earliest canonical gospel,[37] and including much of the material presented by Matthew and Luke,[38] must have priority in any analysis of

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31 For a discussion of Jewish wonder-workers see Vermes (1983) 58-82.

32 Thus, in the terms of contemporary narrative critical study, the 'implied author' manipulates the expectation of the 'implied reader'. (For a discussion, and an explanation of contemporary narrative critical study, see Moloney [1991], and [1992] 19-42.)

33 There is no concept of this in the literature surrounding Asklepios.

34 However it is obvious from the works of Aristides especially (see App. 5:6), and even from the inscription of Marcus Julius Apellas at Epidauros (see App. 2:4), that treatment at asklepieia by the first and second centuries AD was holistic, including psychological, spiritual, mental and physical prescriptions.

35 Asklepios is not recorded as having been moved by the emotions implicit in the term σπλαγχνίζομαι, as Jesus was (see Part One).

36 Other wonder-workers were common enough to attract literature surrounding their amazing feats. See, for example, Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* (esp. 4.45); and Lucian, *Philopseudes* (esp. 11). In the healing sphere, exorcists were common in Syria and Palestine (Lucian, *Philopseudes* 16; and Josephus, *Ant.* 8.45-9 [App. 6:2, 29]); and the Roman emperor, Vespasian, is reported to have healed a blind man and a maimed man (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.81; Suetonius, *Vespasian* 7; Dio 45.8.1).

37 There is still debate concerning the dating of *Mark*. Recent scholarship suggests that it could be as early as AD 41 (see Hengel [1985] 2), although Hengel himself favours AD 69 as the earliest date for *Mark*. But see also Robinson (1985) who argues for an earlier dating for parts of John's gospel than *Mark*.

38 It is not proposed here to go into what has become known as the Synoptic Problem, or the relative merits of Source, Form or Redaction Criticism. It is sufficient to note that until the late 1960s scholars favoured the idea that *Mark* was the earliest canonical gospel, and

Jesus' healing ministry. For it is in Mark's account that one comes closest in time to the historical Jesus,[39] and closest to an unidealised account of his actions.[40]

Several interesting features at once emerge. For Mark, Jesus' healing power is proof of Jesus' identity. There are no miraculous birth stories, as in *Matthew* and *Luke*, nor is there any lengthy genealogy. Mark, in contrast, begins his gospel with the highly theological statement:

> "The beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ [the Son of God] (Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [υἱοῦ θεοῦ])"[41]

and then, in the first chapter alone, reports 25% of his healing miracles - as proof of Jesus' identity and the arrival of the "kingdom".[42] As well, seventeen of the nineteen cases of healing reported by Mark occur in the first eight chapters of his gospel, prior to Peter's recognition and declaration of Jesus as the Messiah (8.29).[43] Therefore Mark's placing of the healing miracles is no accident, for, to him, Jesus himself is proof of his own identity, manifest in action. Mark uses Jesus' healing miracles to force his audience to the same conclusion.

There is a sense of urgency in Mark's account. Events move at speed (καὶ εὐθὺς), and are often portrayed in the perfect tense, creating a vivid atmosphere of present time, of a breathless, eye-witness account.[44] Mark is

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that both Matthew and Luke used *Mark* and another source, known as Q, to compose their gospels, and that Matthew and Luke had access to further material exclusive to each of them. Since then other theories have been advanced, and no one solution has found universal approbation. See Hawkins (1909); Streeter (1930); Dibelius (1935); Bultmann (1963); Farmer (1964); Perrin (1969); Goulder (1974); Stoldt (1980); Farmer (1983); Sanders and Davies (1989). While a study of the synoptic use of the language of healing does not provide a simple solution, it does support the idea of the priority of *Mark*, and also that *Mark* (or some form of *Mark*) was known to the authors of both *Matthew* and *Luke*.

39 For the historical Jesus, see Schweitzer (1948); McCown (1940); Wrede (1971); Robinson (1983); Sanders and Davies (1989).

40 For a discussion, with examples, of passages in *Mark* supposedly altered or omitted by Matthew and Luke, see Hawkins (1909) 117-125.

41 Mk 1.1

42 Thus, from the very beginning, Mark's gospel is unashamedly polemical. It is a mistake to underestimate both the purpose and the craft of the author of this gospel.

43 See App. 7:4.

44 (i) Mark's penchant for the historic present tense has long been noted by scholars. See e.g. Hawkins (1909) 143, 214; Barclay (1976) 88, 130; Sanders and Davies (1989) 266.
(ii) A discussion of the authorship of *Mark* is outside the scope of this work at this stage. It is sufficient to note that many believe that Mark is the John Mark of Acts 12.12, 25; 15.37.

also fond of the imperfect tense in unusual places, to stress continuing action.[45]

Mark stresses the demonic nature of illness, and the *a priori* recognition of Jesus' identity by the demon world. Three[46] of the six general healing episodes[47] noted in *Mark* describe people cured of demonic possession. Four of the thirteen specific healing cases describe the activity of the spirit world, one case described as a demonic unclean spirit,[48] the other three as unclean spirits.[49] In this way illness, as in *Matthew* and *Luke*, is portrayed as the manifestation of evil, and Jesus' healing ministry is the logical outcome of his desire to combat and overcome the forces of evil at work in the world. It is significant that Jesus' identity is first recognised, and proclaimed, by an unclean spirit:

> "What have you to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are: the holy one of God. (Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρενέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ.)"[50]

In this way, Mark, at the outset, presents a dualistic understanding of the cosmos, of Good versus Evil, with Jesus as the agent of Good, with authority (ἐξουσία) over the agents of Evil.[51] Thus Jesus is portrayed as bringing to fulfilment Judaistic eschatological hopes, as inaugurating the kingdom of God. Jesus' authority to heal, and particularly to triumph in his battle against demonic power is, to Mark, proof of his identity.

In antiquity both Papias and Irenaeus suggested that Mark was Peter's interpreter (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.39.15, citing Papias; and 5.8.3, citing Irenaeus). The rather breathless style of the gospel supports this idea of an eye-witness account. However the gospel could also be the product of an excellent raconteur, attempting to place his reader in the middle of the action.

45 See below, 136-9. Mark's use of the imperfect tense has not hitherto been given much attention.

46 Mk 1.32-34; 1.39; 6.13

47 Mk 1.32-34; 1.39; 3.10; 6.1-6; 6.13; 6.53-56

48 Mk 7.24-30

49 Mk 1.23-28; 5.1-20; 9.14-29

50 Mk 1.24

51 In Jewish thought the "evil" power is not independent of God, but also created by him, so that there is no 'ontological' dualism: at most an 'ethical' dualism. However, when reading the gospels the synoptist portrayal of evil assumes an almost ontological nature. One wonders then how much the synoptists and their contemporaries were influenced by the dualistic thought inherent in the Persian religions.

The battle with demonic power is given prominence in *Mark*. It figures in many of the healing miracles, in Jesus' motives for choosing the twelve, and in their commission. Mark gives three reasons for Jesus' choosing of the twelve:

> "And he appointed twelve [whom also he named apostles] so that they might be with him, and that he might send them out to preach and to have authority to cast out demons. (καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα, ἵνα ὦσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἵνα ἀποστέλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν καὶ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια·)"[52]

Thus companionship is to produce a mission - a mission of two equal parts - preaching and casting out demons. Later Jesus gives the twelve authority over unclean spirits:

> "and he gave them authority over unclean spirits (καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων·)"[53]

and sends them out two by two. Their mission was successful in this respect, for Mark reports:

> "And after going out they preached that people should repent, and they began casting out many demons, and used to anoint with oil many who were ill and began healing [them]. (καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν ἵνα μετανοῶσιν, καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ ἐξέβαλλον, καὶ ἤλειφον ἐλαίῳ πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους καὶ ἐθεράπευον.)"[54]

This is a most significant passage. There is no parallel in Matthew's gospel, and Luke only records in very general language that:

> "and going out they began travelling through the villages, preaching the gospel and healing everywhere (ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ τὰς κώμας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ)."[55]

It is the only account in *Mark* of the success of the disciples' healing practices, and the only occasion in *Mark* where anointing with oil is mentioned as a therapeutic practice.

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[52] Mk 3.14-15
[53] Mk 6.7
[54] Mk 6.12-13
[55] Lk 9.6

Anointing with olive oil was a common therapeutic practice in the ancient world.[56] It had several functions. If the skin was broken it served as an antiseptic by providing an effective barrier against harmful bacteria, and as an emollient, preventing bandages sticking to the wound.[57] As well, it was used extensively to treat skin disorders, and as the emollient agent for massage, particularly in the treatment of muscular complaints and bruising.[58] Matthew does not mention this practice, while Luke only mentions it in his account of Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan.[59] No gospel writer records that Jesus himself ever used it as a therapeutic technique. However it is unlikely that the disciples would have employed methods of which Jesus did not approve, and far more likely that they would have emulated his actions in every possible way. It is interesting to note that the Good Samaritan, when attending to the wounded man, poured on to his wounds a mixture of olive oil and wine, a treatment advocated by Hippokrates.[60] In *Luke*, the operative word is ἐπιχέω, not found elsewhere in the New Testament in the language of healing.[61]

The only other mention the practice of anointing with oil receives in the New Testament, in connection with healing, is in the letter of James[62] where James gives procedural advice, to be followed in cases of sickness:

> "Is anyone among you ill? Let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, after anointing him with oil in the name of the

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56 Hobart (1882) 28-9, cites Hippokrates, *Morb. Mul.* 656, *Affect.* 526, *Artic.* 829, *Ulcer.* 881, *Epid.* 1157; Aretaeus, *Cur. Acut. Morb.* 98; Dioscorides, *Mat. Med* 2.205, *Medic. Parab.* 2I.128; Galen, *Comp. Med.* 5.1 (12.815 Kühn), *Antid.* 2.17 (14.201 Kühn). See also App. 4:1, 13.

57 Hippokrates, *In the Surgery* 12, and see also Withington in Hippokrates (1968) xx-xxi.

58 (i) Celsus, *De Medicina* 2.14.4: "... For it is desirable that even in acute and recent diseases the body should be anointed and then gently stroked, but only during remissions and before food...." See also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 15.5 and 23.39-40.
(ii) Wilkinson (1980) 152-4

59 Lk 10.25-37

60 Hippokrates, *Morb. Mul.* 656: ἢν δὲ αἱ μῆτραι ἐξίσχωσι, περινίψας αὐτὰς ὕδατι χλιερῷ καὶ ἀλείψας ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἴνῳ.

61 Hobart (1882) 28, citing Hippokrates, Dioscorides and Galen, concludes that "ἐπιχέειν, peculiar to St. Luke, is of frequent occurrence in the medical writers, and often, too, used in conjunction with ἔλαιον or οἶνος, or both together."

62 Sidebottom (1986) 61, notes that oil was used as a healing agent amongst the Hebrews, and that oil was a symbol of joy. See Psalm 45.7: "ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως" (LXX: ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΜΔ 44 [45] 8). But see also Isaiah 1.5-6: "πᾶσα κεφαλὴ εἰς πόνον καὶ πᾶσα καρδία εἰς λύπην. ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς οὔτε τραῦμα οὔτε μώλωψ οὔτε πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα, οὐκ ἔστιν μάλαγμα ἐπιθεῖναι οὔτε ἔλαιον οὔτε καταδέσμους" (LXX).

> Lord...(ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες (αὐτὸν) ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου...)"[63]

Here it is possible that the act of anointing with oil might have a sacramental function either instead of, or as well as, a physical function. But, given the medical context of contemporary medical practice, James is probably endorsing the use of current medical knowledge in conjunction with prayer. The verb ἀλείφω does not normally carry any other than a physical connotation.[64]

Whatever their meaning and purpose, these three references do show that the practice of anointing with oil was implemented by the disciples in response to their healing commission, that it was part of their therapeutic technique, and that the early church continued to use it as part of its healing ministry.

Mark's use of the imperfect tense to account for the healing ministry of the disciples is also significant:

> "... And they began casting out many demons, and used to anoint with olive oil many who were weak, and they began healing them ...".[65]

In contrast to the completed action of preaching, healing by the disciples is represented as an ongoing affair, as the beginning of a process. The nature of the healing ministry of the disciples is not characterised by instant cures and completed actions as is Jesus' ministry.

Mark has often been criticised for his use of Greek tense. However it would appear that Mark was more discriminating in his choice of tense than at first sight seems obvious. Indeed, Mark's choice of tense appears to be deliberate, designed to convey a distinct difference between the disciples'

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63 James 5.14

64 This is the verb used at Mark 6.13 to describe the disciples' therapeutic technique, and at Mark 16.1 to describe the women's intention to anoint the body of Jesus with spices. It is also the verb used to describe the behaviour of the woman who anointed Jesus' feet with perfume (Luke 7.38). Luke puts this verb into the mouth of Jesus (7.46). See Trench (1961) 129: "ἀλείφειν is the mundane and profane, χρίειν the sacred and religious, word." Cf. Hippokrates, *Regimen* II.66 (App. 4:1, 13) where ἀλείφω is used in a therapeutic context. See above, chapter four, n.122.

65 Mk 6.12-13

and Jesus' healing ministries, and a distinct difference between the disciples' preaching and healing activities.

Mark's choice of language is varied. It is not as highly stylised as Matthew's, nor like Luke's,[66] but it does appear more spontaneous. Where Matthew carefully groups different sorts of healing, and is consistent in his use of language to describe them, Mark's language is more varied. In this way Matthew appears to have carefully categorised the healing stories in his gospel that are parallel to those found in *Mark*, and described each category in uniform language. Thus Mark's and Matthew's selection and treatment of healing language must be another argument in favour of the priority of Mark's gospel; an argument, to my knowledge, not hitherto discussed.[67]

Matthew

An analysis of the way Matthew portrays the authors of healing, their methods of treatment, and the illnesses of the patients treated, through the language used to describe these events, reveals certain patterns: patterns of behaviour, patterns of treatment, and patterns of language.[68]

Matthew lists twenty-five[69] separate occasions when Jesus healed people. According to Matthew only Jesus was capable of healing,[70] despite giving his disciples the authority,[71] and the command[72] to do so. Healing usually occurred after a period of withdrawal, in response to compassion on the part of Jesus,[73] or faith in his power on the part of the patient,[74] and was by word

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66 For a discussion of Luke's healing language, see below, especially chapter eight.

67 See also App. 7:7 for an analysis of Matthew's and Mark's presentation of controversial issues.

68 It also raises several questions. What was the purpose of Jesus' healing ministry, in his mind, in the minds of his disciples, and in the minds of the early Christians? If the answers to these questions differ, why is this so?

69 Fourteen specific, and eleven general (see Apps 7:1 and 7:5). I cannot accept 13.58 as does Wilkinson (1980) 22. The word δυνάμεις is ambiguous. However I would divide the Galilean tour, described in 4.23-25 into two (or more) general healing episodes. Note the general description here, and for a discussion of Matthew's use of healing language to describe general healing episodes, and the epithetical nature of his descriptions, see below, 144-7.

70 Mt 17.14-20

71 Mt 10.1

72 Mt 10.8

73 Mt 14.14; 20.34. The feeding of the 4,000 (15.32-39) was also in response to compassion felt by Jesus (15.32). The verb used is σπλαγχνίζομαι. For the use of this verb in a healing context see App. 7:13.

or touch.[75] Healing involved an effort of will by Jesus and an active response by the patient.

The illnesses treated varied. Those specifically cited possibly reflect the prevalent medical problems of the time: four instances of blindness,[76] three instances of paralysis,[77] two maimed,[78] epilepsy,[79] leprosy,[80] fever,[81] haemorrhaging,[82] deafness,[83] crippleness,[84] a withered hand,[85] and death itself.[86] However, of those illnesses specifically cited, people suffering from demonic possession greatly outnumbered those suffering from all other illnesses.[87]

In seven instances Jesus healed people "possessed": on two occasions the patients being only demonic,[88] on five occasions their "possession" being compounded by intensity,[89] blindness and deafness,[90] dumbness,[91] and epilepsy.[92]

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74 The centurion's "boy" (8.5-13); the Canaanite woman's daughter (15.21-28); the haemorrhaging woman (9.20-22).

75 Three verbs occur in healing accounts which describe the 'touch' of Jesus: ἅπτομαι, κρατέω and ἐπιτίθημι (τὰς χεῖρας). ἅπτομαι is the most common, but occurs only in synoptic stories, and only in the middle voice. See Apps 7:12, 7:13, and below, chapter nine. For a discussion of Jesus' rare use of saliva, see below, chapter nine, n.134.

76 Mt 9.27-28; 15.30-31; 20.30; 21.14 (App. 7:1)

77 Mt 4.24; 8.6; 9.2 (App. 7:1)

78 Mt 15.30-31; 21.14 (App. 7:1)

79 Mt 4.24 (App. 7:1)

80 Mt 8.2 (App. 7:1)

81 Mt 8.14 (App. 7:1)

82 Mt 9.20 (App. 7:1)

83 Mt 15.30-31 (App. 7:1)

84 Mt 15.30 (App. 7:1)

85 Mt 12.10 (App. 7:1)

86 Mt 9.18, 23-26 (App. 7:1). The blind, lame, paralysed and maimed are also mentioned in inscriptions from Epidauros (see above, chapter two; and Apps 2:1 and 2:2).

87 Demonic possession is notably absent from the literature surrounding the asklepieia, but present in Jewish material. In the Septuagint, the book of Tobit deals with demon possession (see App. 6:1, **51**); while Josephus also describes Jewish exorcism (see App. 6:2, **29**). Exorcism, exhibiting a Jewish influence, also features in the magical papyri (see *PGM* 4.1227-64 in Betz [1986] 62, and *PGM* 94.17-21 in Betz [1986] 304.

88 Mt 4.24, 8.16: δαιμονιζομένους

89 Mt 8.28: δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι ... χαλεποὶ λίαν ; 15.22: κακῶς δαιμονίζεται

90 Mt 12.22: δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός

91 Mt 9.32: κωφὸν δαιμονιζόμενον

92 Mt 17.14-20

As well as illnesses specifically cited, Jesus healed disorders in bulk on nine occasions; on ten, if the blind and maimed in the temple are included.[93] The language used to decribe these is imprecise and all embracing. It is not possible to ascertain the nature and extent of these healings. It is possible to ascertain that, in Matthew, the verb θεραπεύω in the active voice, followed by a general number, becomes a repetitive formula in the language of healing, a refrain used to sum up Jesus' behaviour with people, particularly crowds.[94]

Luke

Luke has the same number of healing stories as Matthew (twenty-five),[95] but is far more specific in his accounts of them. Where Matthew has eleven general healing episodes and Mark five, Luke has seven,[96] and even gives specific information in these. For example, Luke describes the disciples' healing activity (9.6); and names Joanna (wife of Chuza), Susanna and Mary as being amongst a large group. As well he gives details of seventeen specific healing episodes (Mark thirteen, Matthew fourteen) performed by Jesus. Of these, five patients are women (Mark and Matthew four each).[97] Luke's interest in women is reflected in the rest of his gospel: it is Luke who tells the stories of Elizabeth, and Anna the prophetess,[98] of Martha and Mary; and it is Luke who describes Jesus' compassion for the widow of Nain, and the subsequent "healing" of her son.[99] Luke is also more interested in the poor, and the outcast. Therefore his purpose appears to be to appeal to people of all stations in life, and of both sexes. His is a gospel for all humankind.

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93 Mt 21.14

94 For a discussion of the significance of the use of this verb in general healing episodes, see below, 144-52; and for a detailed analysis of the verb itself, see Apps 7:8 and 7:9.

95 App. 7:3

96 App. 7:5

97 App. 7:6

98 These two stories are parts of the first two chapters of Luke, which contain material unparalleled in other gospels. As well, Luke's gospel has a second preface at the beginning of chapter 3. This has led some scholars to suppose that Luke adapted this material, and inserted it as a new beginning to his gospel (see Ropes [1960] 69). However, Moloney (1992) 105, n.12 presumes "that Luke 1-2 form the prologue to the Gospel of Luke." Certainly the theological interests and issues raised in the first two chapters of *Luke* are reflected in the rest of the gospel, as Moloney, 101-130, shows. Luke's interest in women, and compassion for mothers, is also reflected in his choice of healing stories in the later chapters of the gospel.

99 Lk 7.1-11

Luke is also more explicit in his analogies between health or wholeness, and righteousness. It is Luke who has Jesus refer to himself as a physician at Nazareth in a pejorative tone,[100] and it is Luke who has Jesus explain:

> "The healthy have no need of a physician, only those who are ill; I am not here to call the righteous, but sinners [irreligious people],[101] to repentance[102] (οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλὰ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες· οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν)."[103]

So the synoptists portray Jesus' mission as a mission to heal humankind, and the physical healings exemplify this. To illustrate this Luke includes a cross-section of society amongst those who were healed: sons,[104] a daughter,[105] a mother-in-law,[106] a state slave,[107] a temple slave,[108] a beggar,[109] the outcast (lepers);[110] and those from "acceptable" society.[111] Luke also includes a range of diseases: those demonic,[112] feverish,[113] weak,[114] leprous (unclean),[115] maimed,[116] paralysed,[117] haemorrhaging (unclean),[118] epileptic,[119] dumb,[120] blind[121] and wounded.[122]

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100 Lk 4.23. For a discussion of this saying see below, 155-7.

101 Arndt and Gingrich (1957) 43, cite the use of ἁμαρτωλὸς in Lk 5.30 as meaning "*irreligious, unobservant people*, of those who did not observe the law in detail". Here, this saying occurs in the same context (a dispute with the Pharisees and their scribes concerning the keeping of the law, especially with regard to table-fellowship).

102 The Greek verb μετανοέω and its cognate forms are generally used in the gospels in the same sense as the Hebrew *shûb*, which means to *turn back* or *return* (to God). See Cranfield (1959) 43-46.

103 Lk 5.31-32

104 Lk 7.11-18; 9.37-43 (App. 7:3)

105 Lk 8.40-42, 49-56 (App. 7:3)

106 Lk 4.38-39 (App. 7:3)

107 Lk 7.1-10 (App. 7:3)

108 Lk 22.49-51 (App. 7:3)

109 Lk 18.35-43 (App. 7:3)

110 Lk 5.12-14; 17.11-19 (App. 7:3)

111 Lk 4.38-39; 5.17-26; 8.2-3 (App. 7:3)

112 Lk 4.31-38; 4.41; 6.17-19; 7.21; 8.2-3; 8.26-39; 9.37-43; 11.14-16 (App. 7:3)

113 Lk 4.38-39 (App. 7:3)

114 Lk 4.40; 5.15-16; 8.2-3; 13.10-17 (App. 7:3)

115 Lk 5.12-14 (App. 7:3)

116 Lk 6.6-11 (App. 7:3)

117 Lk 5.17-26 (App. 7:3)

118 Lk 8.43-48 (App. 7:3)

119 Lk 9.37-43 (App. 7:3)

120 Lk 11.14-16 (App. 7:3)

121 Lk 7.21; 18.35-43 (App. 7:3)

122 Lk 22.49-51 (App. 7:3)

Like Matthew and Mark, Luke portrays illness and disease as the manifestation of evil, as the work of Satan.[123]

But what are the terms the synoptists use to describe the healing activity of Jesus, and what do they mean? Are these terms reflected in John's gospel, and other New Testament writings?

θεραπεύω

It is to a consideration of the verb θεραπεύω and its family of words[124] that we must turn first, as this family of words is by far the most popular in the New Testament language of healing. At first sight this is surprising, as it is completely contrary to the incidence of the verb in healing language surrounding the Greek asklepieia,[125] and the incidence of the verb in the Septuagint in a healing context.[126] θεραπεύω occurs in verbal form forty-three times in the New Testament, thirty-five times in the synoptic gospels.[127] It appears once in John's gospel,[128] five times in *Acts*[129] and twice in *Revelation*.[130] θεραπεύω occurs almost twice as frequently as the other medical healing verb ἰάομαι, which only occurs in verbal form twenty-six times.[131] The very popularity of θεραπεύω seems to have led to its neglect in semantic studies, scholars consistently having studied words that appear infrequently, while taking for granted the meaning of words which appear frequently and in similar contexts.[132] It is time then to redress this

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123 See especially Lk 13.10-17 (App. 7:3).

124 See Apps 7:8 and 7:9.

125 See chapter two, and Apps 2:1 and 2:2; chapter three, and App. 3:2; chapter five.

126 See chapter six, and App. 6:1.

127 It is at once obvious that Luke is most at home with the Greek language. He uses θεραπεύω in a variety of forms (thirteen in his gospel, and a further three in *Acts*), whereas Matthew only uses seven different forms, and of his sixteen usages the same form occurs eight times. Mark, although only using θεραπεύω five times, uses it in three different forms, and is carefully selective in his use of tense. See Apps 7:8 and 7:9.

128 John 5.10. See App. 7:8.

129 Acts 4.14; 5.16; 8.7; 17.25; 28.9. See App. 7:8.

130 Revelation 3.3, 12

131 See Apps 8:3 and 8:4. ἰάομαι in cognate form occurs thirteen times, seven times denoting a physician, three times referring to the gifts of healing, and three times as the noun "healing". See App. 8:3.

132 So Hawkins (1909), although stating (2) that it is "much more important to examine words which are used more frequently, though it may not be exclusively" does not consider the role of θεραπεύω in its own right. As his object is to contribute to the study of the Synoptic Problem, this is perhaps understandable. However, less easily understood is the complete absence of θεραπεύω in the works of Hobart (1882), and Cadbury (1969), for, even

imbalance, and analyse the use and meaning of this verb. In order to do this θεραπεύω will be considered in three different contexts in the synoptic gospels: as it appears in general healing episodes, in specific healing episodes, and in thought and conversation.[133]

θεραπεύω in general healing episodes

In Part One we saw how θεραπεύω in a medical context meant *to give medical treatment* and was used to describe a process, and that in a teaching context it meant *to change one's way of life.* In meaning its aspect was generally continuous. So it is interesting to find that this imperfect aspect of the verb also appears in the New Testament. According to Matthew, when Jesus began his ministry he was:

> θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν.[134]

This θεραπεύων behaviour is linked to the activities of διδάσκων and κηρύσσων. It is the first of two instances of Matthew using the present participle of θεραπεύω, the second occurring at 9.35 in identical language. Both usages occur in general healing episodes, describing Jesus' behaviour while travelling. No other New Testament author uses θεραπεύω in this form to describe Jesus' behaviour.[135] Thus θεραπεύω in the form of a present participle in *Matthew* is part of a formula used to describe Jesus' behaviour while travelling. These two instances form a doublet. Both occur immediately prior to collections of Jesus' sayings, in chapters 5-7 and 10. Several suggestions have been put forward to account for this doublet,[136] but as Luke also uses a present participle to describe the disciples' healing behaviour while travelling (9.6), behaviour exhibited in response to their commission (9.1-2), it seems most probable that Matthew's use of the

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though Hobart chose to focus on words that were peculiar to Luke, some comment on Luke's use of θεραπεύω in a discussion of healing language would surely have been justified. That the meaning of θεραπεύω in the New Testament is far from certain is illustrated by comparing Beyer in Kittel *et al.* (1965) 129: "θεραπεύω is used . . . in the sense of 'to heal,' and always in such a way that the reference is not to medical treatment, which might fail, but to real healing" with Moulton and Milligan (1930) 289: " . . . θεραπεύω, used as a medical term, means strictly 'treat medically' rather than 'heal' . . . ". Arndt and Gingrich (1957) 359, cite both meanings, i.e. to "treat" (medically) and to "heal". As well, there is an imbalance in terms of the space devoted to each word group, especially in Kittel *et al.* (1965): 4 pages (128-132) for the θεραπεύω word group; 21 pages (194-215) for the ἰάομαι word group.

133 For the occurrence of θεραπεύω in commands and commissions see below, chapter ten.

134 Mt 4.23

135 Although Luke uses a present participle to describe the disciples' healing behaviour while travelling at 9.6.

136 See Hawkins (1909) 92-3.

formula is to describe Jesus' habitual behaviour while travelling from village to village.[137] And, just as Jesus' teaching and preaching was habitual behaviour, either reported by the use of a present participle (as in both these instances), or introduced by a verb in the imperfect tense, as ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων (5.2), so it is perfectly normal for Matthew to emphasise this behaviour by repeating his description.

θεραπεύω also appears in the active indicative imperfect tense. We have already noted in some detail Mark's use of the imperfect tense to describe the disciples' healing behaviour in response to their commission.[138] Luke also uses the imperfect tense[139] to describe Jesus' behaviour in a crowd situation (4.40), where "having laid his hands upon each one of them,[140] he began healing them." Does this imply that θεραπεύω in a crowd situation in the imperfect means one-by-one in *Luke*? Or is the healing therapy the beginning of a process? It is surprising that a possible answer to this question is found in the synoptic use of θεραπεύω in the 3rd person singular active indicative aorist, ἐθεράπευσεν.

Mark uses ἐθεράπευσεν three times in his gospel,[141] each time describing Jesus' behaviour in a crowd situation. In the first episode (1.34) the patients are described as πολλοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ποικίλαις νόσοις. These patients were "brought" to Jesus, at sundown, i.e. after the sabbath had ended. Mark reports that "the whole city (Capernaum?) was gathered together about the door." The second episode (3.10) is also a general healing episode in a very large crowd situation. Here the crowd "followed" Jesus, and were so anxious to touch him that he was in danger of being crushed - the reason being that he had healed many (πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐθεράπευσεν), so that as many as suffered (εἶχον μάστιγας) were anxious to touch him (αὐτοῦ ἅψωνται). This

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137 This could be a description of Jesus' sabbath behaviour. It was his custom (Luke 4.16) to teach and preach in the local synagogue, if there was one, and this behaviour usually included a healing component: διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ (teaching in their synagogues and preaching the good news of the Kingdom and healing/treating every disease and every weakness among the people [Mt 4.23]).

138 See above, 136-9.

139 Another Lukan usage (in the present tense) describes the scribes' and Pharisees' perception of Jesus' sabbath behaviour in the story of the man with the withered hand (6.7), a usage of θεραπεύω that is entirely in keeping with the use of all four gospel authors. For a full discussion, see below, 154-60.

140 For the language, see App. 7:13, and for a discussion, below, chapter nine.

141 Mk 1.34, 3.10, 6.5

healing behaviour makes unclean spirits recognise him and proclaim his identity (3.11), although Jesus commands them to secrecy (ἐπετίμα), as in the first healing episode recorded by Mark.[142] Thus these two instances of θεραπεύω in the 3rd person singular aorist describe Jesus' behaviour in a crowd situation, with people who "follow" or are "brought" to him. Both episodes follow accounts of Jesus' teaching in the synagogues.[143]

Mark's final use of this form of θεραπεύω occurs in his description of Jesus' activities at Nazareth.[144] Again it describes a general healing episode in a crowd situation. Mark reports that Jesus was unable to do any mighty works there except that he laid his hands on a few who were ill and healed them (καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐκεῖ ποιῆσαι οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις ἀρρώστοις ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐθεράπευσεν).[145] Neither Matthew nor Luke describe this episode in these terms. Matthew (13.58) states that "he did not do many mighty works there because of their unbelief" (καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις πολλὰς διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν), while Luke does not report any mighty works at all![146] Can it be, then, that the prerequisite for Jesus to exhibit θεραπεύων behaviour is the willingness of the people present to listen to his message? Perhaps *Matthew* can provide the answer.

Although Matthew chooses to omit θεραπεύω from his account of the episode at Nazareth, he is fond of the 3rd person singular aorist indicative of this verb to describe Jesus' behaviour. This form of θεραπεύω accounts for half of Matthew's use of this verb and in every instance it describes Jesus' behaviour in a crowd situation (as in *Mark*), when people either "follow" him, or are "brought" to him. In seven of the eight instances[147] the language used to describe the maladies of the people who "follow", or are "brought" is vague and generalised:

> πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ... ἐθεράπευσεν (4.24; 8.16)

with the added information at 4.24:

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142 Mk 1.21-28

143 Mk 1.21f.; 3.1-6

144 Mk 6.1-6

145 Mark describes the laying on of hands in healing episodes more frequently than either Matthew (who doesn't use it at all) or Luke. See App. 7:13.

146 Lk 4.16-30. This is odd, and must be deliberate, for Luke likes to record wondrous things.

147 Cf. 12.22: a specific healing in a crowd situation. For a discussion, see below, 151-2.

ποικίλαις νόσοις καὶ βασάνοις συνεχομένους.

Similarly:

ὄχλοι πολλοί, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτοὺς πάντας (12.15),
ἐθεράπευσεν τοὺς ἀρρώστους αὐτῶν (14.14),
ἑτέρους πολλούς ... καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς (15.30),
ὄχλοι πολλοί, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτοὺς (19.2),
τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοὶ ... ἐθεράπευσεν (21.14).

It is not possible to ascertain the nature and extent of these episodes. It is possible to ascertain that ἐθεράπευσεν followed by a general number becomes a repetitive formula in Matthew's language of healing, a refrain used to sum up Jesus' behaviour with people, particularly crowds, and, in every instance this behaviour is accompanied by the activities of preaching and teaching. Indeed, Matthew even substitutes the verb θεραπεύω for διδάσκω, when using the same material as Mark.[148] Thus Matthew uses θεραπεύω in the 3rd person singular aorist as a gnomic aorist, describing the habitual action of Jesus, and the usual result of his preaching and teaching. Since Matthew places all these instances in a teaching context, the inference is that θεραπεύω refers to spiritual, rather than physical, healing.

Luke also uses this form of θεραπεύω in a general healing episode, to describe the treatment of diseases (νόσων), illnesses/chronic irritations (μαστίγων) and evil spirits (πνευμάτων πονηρῶν). The context is significant. This episode occurs between the question from John the Baptist concerning Jesus' identity, and Jesus' answer to him. That the aorist ἐθεράπευσεν describes completed action is emphasised by Luke's use of ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ. The stress on the instantaneous and the miraculous is typical of Luke. However, in this case, one cannot help wondering if the instantaneous nature of the "cure" can be explained by conversion.[149]

Luke also likes to use the passive voice of θεραπεύω. In fact, θεραπεύω in the passive voice only occurs fourteen times in the New Testament, and, of these fourteen, ten are peculiar to Luke.[150] Luke is the only New Testament

148 Cf. Mk 10.1; Mt 19.2

149 Lk 7.21

150 *Luke* five, *Acts* five. The other four are found in *Matthew* (17.18), *John* (5.10), and *Revelation* (13.3, 12). See App. 7:9.

author to use θεραπεύω in the passive voice in the present and imperfect tenses, and all occur in general healing episodes. The present passive infinitive of θεραπεύω, θεραπεύεσθαι, occurs only once, at Luke 5.15, in a narrative passage. Jesus is in a crowd situation and we are told that the people came "to listen and to be healed of their infirmities (ἀσθενειῶν)." Luke is fond of the broad term "ἀσθενειῶν" and uses it often in accounts of general healing episodes in conjunction with θεραπεύω.[151] One wonders what sort of infirmities they were: mental? emotional? spiritual? physical? or a combination of some or all of them? The inference here is that it is Jesus' "message" that heals, and that this is a process. Hence the use of the present infinitives: ἀκούειν and θεραπεύεσθαι. His audience were "great crowds" (ὄχλοι πολλοὶ) who came to "hear" (an active infinitive requiring an active response by the listener) and "be healed" (by an unnamed agent). Luke does not mention any physical contact by Jesus, such as his laying his hands on them, as at 4.40. The therapy in this case seems to be not only listening, but also hearing (and understanding) Jesus' message. Here θεραπεύεσθαι is very much linked to the idea of the arrival of the kingdom (an awareness of God's presence), and the change in thinking (μετάνοιαν, 5.32) that this brings in their lives, and the resultant sense of community belongingness that this engenders. Again, the primary emphasis of θεραπεύω appears to be spiritual, and its aspect continuous.

Luke uses the 3rd person plural passive imperfect ἐθεραπεύοντο on three occasions, once in his gospel, and twice in *Acts* .[152] All three episodes are general healing episodes, the main characters being Jesus, Peter and Paul respectively. In the gospel episode Luke is careful to use θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι contiguously.[153] It is, as one would expect by now, a crowd situation. The people came to listen/hear (ἀκοῦσαι), and be healed (ἰαθῆναι). It was those who were troubled by unclean spirits who ἐθεραπεύοντο. Again, the therapy appears to be the "message" of Jesus.

The context of the next occurrence of ἐθεραπεύοντο is so atypical that one wonders whether most of the episode,[154] or indeed the entire context[155]

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151 Lk 4.40, 5.15, 8.2, 10.9, 13.10-17; Acts 5.16, 28.9. But cf. Mt 10.8. Mark prefers the term ἄρρωστος in conjunction with θεραπεύω (6.13).

152 Lk 6.18; Acts 5.16, 28.9

153 Luke likes to use θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι contiguously. For a full discussion of the significance of this see below, and chapters eight and ten.

154 Acts 5.12-15 (App. 8:1)

could be an interpolation. Certainly θεραπεύω is used in a crowd situation, in a general healing episode, and those healed were "brought" to Peter. The patients were the weak (τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς), and those afflicted by unclean spirits (ὀχλουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων). This is all perfectly in keeping with other usages of θεραπεύω. The healing agent is unspecified, again a perfectly normal Lukan practice. But the context is unnatural. There is no mention of teaching, which is most unusual. The context is also unnatural: the episode is sandwiched between the account of the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira,[156] and the apostles' imprisonment by the Sadducees and their miraculous release by an angel.[157] It is appropriate that the episode is introduced by the vague general statement:

> "many signs and wonders (σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πολλὰ) were done among the people by the hands of the apostles."

The preceding episode is characterised by greed and violence, injecting an atmosphere of fear, this episode by magic,[158] and the following by violence.[159] The language of the actual verse in which ἐθεραπεύοντο appears is entirely predictable, it is the context which is unnatural. Thus Jesus' gospel teaching, motivated by compassion[160] and focusing on love[161] and forgiveness,[162] is replaced by fear-inspiring signs and wonders. Perhaps this is the strongest argument yet for the verb θεραπεύω implying conversion. Certainly these fearful events caused the number of believers to grow mightily.[163] The whole chapter appears highly hellenised.

The final occurrence of ἐθεραπεύοντο occurs at Acts 28.9, in a general healing episode on the island of Malta, and Paul is the central figure. It follows the specific healing episode where Paul visited Publius' father and prayed, and putting his hands on him healed him (ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἰάσατο

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155 Acts 5.1-15, 19-26 (App. 8:1)

156 Acts 5.1-11 (App. 8:2)

157 Acts 5.17-21

158 Peter's shadow: 5.15

159 It may be significant that this is not a "we" passage, and that, in fact, no punitive miracles occur in "we" passages (see Apps 8:1 and 8:2).

160 See Mt 9.36; and cf. Mt 14.14, 20.34; Mk. 1.41, 9.22; Lk 7.11-18. Luke also has the verb σπλαγχνίζομαι motivating the actions of the Good Samaritan (10.33).

161 Mk 12.28-34; Mt 22.34-40; Lk 10.25-28; Jn 13.34-35

162 Lk 5.17-26

163 Acts 9.31, 9.35, 9.42, 12.24, 19.20 (see Apps 8:1 and 8:2)

αὐτόν).[164] He had been sick with dysentery and fever (πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίῳ). Publius fulfilled the hospitality requirements laid down by Jesus as a prerequisite for healing.[165] Paul also fulfilled the instructions Jesus gave to the disciples.[166] Luke chooses ἰάομαι to describe this healing.[167] The very next verse describes the healing of a crowd of weak people (οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας) who came and were healed (προσήρχοντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο). This is a far happier context for this form of θεραπεύω than that described above.[168] But, as with Peter, no agent is specified, the Lukan and Jewish way of signalling that "God" was the source of healing treatment. And, as with Peter, the catalyst for the gathering of the crowd is an event, rather than teaching. As well, an element of magic was introduced in the episode prior to the healing of Publius' father, where Paul was bitten by a viper without ill effect. It seems that the editor of *Acts* was most anxious to balance all features of the stories concerning Peter and Paul,[169] and to set the scene for a miraculous event. Thus it becomes obvious that both audience and setting have important effects on editorial comment.

Luke also uses θεραπεύω in the third person aorist passive at Acts 8.7, in a general healing episode in Samaria, with Philip as the central character. The people there "gave heed to what was said by Philip, when they heard him (ἐν τῷ ἀκούειν) and saw the signs (τὰ σημεῖα) which he did." The illnesses cited are more specific than is usual with a form of θεραπεύω: the lame and the paralysed (πολλοὶ δὲ παραλελυμένοι καὶ χωλοὶ), rather than the infirm. However, there are crowds of people (οἱ ὄχλοι), and θεραπεύω is used in conjunction with preaching (8.4). As with the passive use of this verb with Peter (5.16) and Paul (28.9) as the central characters, no agent is specified, the inference being that again "God" was the source of healing. As in the

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164 Acts 28.7-8 (App.8:1)

165 Mt 10.8-14; Lk 9.4-5

166 Lk 10.1-12. Similar requirements and instructions are noted at *GT* #14 in Robinson (1978) 119.

167 This is significant. The form is the aorist middle: ἰάσατο, elsewhere used only of Jesus. See App. 8:4.

168 The account of the healing of Publius' father, and the following crowd episode, both occur in a "we" passage.

169 Peter's shadow (5.15), Paul's immunity (28.3-6), Paul's aprons (19.12). However, only Paul has his actions described with the aorist middle of ἰάομαι, a tense only used elsewhere by Luke of Jesus (see App. 8:4).

gospels, people are healed when they hear and understand Philip's message, and are conscious of the presence of the kingdom.

Luke describes another general healing episode with the pluperfect passive of θεραπεύω at Luke 8.2.[170] Here it is part of a general healing that contains some specific information. The use of the feminine participle, and the following very specific information concerning three of the women, including their names, is typical of Lukan precision concerning identity.[171] Luke provides the important sociological and economic information that the women contributed to the support of Jesus and his disciples out of their means. They had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities (πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀσθενειῶν). The result was that they were included in the new community and travelled with Jesus (on this occasion at least). Their "cure" was discipleship, i.e. listening, understanding, and acting on Jesus' message. In short, they were τεθεραπευμέναι.[172]

Thus, in general healing episodes, θεραπεύω is the preferred synoptic word to describe the effect of Jesus' (or Peter's, Philip's or Paul's) presence, and in the gospels it is always linked with preaching and teaching.

θεραπεύω in specific healing stories

In contrast to the wealth of occurrences of θεραπεύω in general healing episodes in the synoptic gospels, θεραπεύω occurs relatively few times in specific healing episodes. We have already noted that Matthew only uses the 3rd singular aorist ἐθεράπευσεν once in a specific healing episode (12.22), and then it is in a crowd situation, in an episode that forcefully links healing activity with teaching and preaching. As with other instances of this form of θεραπεύω, the man, who was δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός, was brought to Jesus by unnamed persons. This incident is used by Matthew as a catalyst for Jesus' teaching (12. 23-50). It is obvious that his audience is both

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170 The only occurrence of the pluperfect passive of θεραπεύω in the New Testament (see App. 7:9).

171 Cf. the information given concerning the identity of the victims of punishment miracles in *Acts* (App. 8:2).

172 Cf. the case of Marcus Julius Apellas (*IG* IV^2 1, no. 126; Apps 2:4, 2:5 and chapter two), who was told by the priest of Asklepios at Epidauros that he was healed (τεθεράπευσαι), and the time had come for him to pay up! Presumably those were also his marching orders: it was time for him to rejoin his community and get on with his life. For him, and also for the Lukan women, to be healed involved an active response. Cf. Moulton and Milligan (1930) 289, who translate this inscription thus: "treatment has been prescribed for you, and you must pay the physician's fee", with the comment that "the actual treatment is to follow".

blind and dumb to the significance of his person and message. Therefore this healing takes on a symbolic significance. Jesus healed the blind and dumb demoniac so that he could speak and see; Jesus treated his audience by preaching and teaching. Their therapy was to "hear" and "see" (i.e. understand) his message. It is not surprising that the man is also characterised as a demoniac: to be unable to "hear" and "see" Jesus' message is, in synoptist thought, to be separated from God, i.e. in the grip of "evil". It is interesting that Matthew reports that it was specifically the Pharisees who misunderstood Jesus' teaching and healing actions on this occasion, and who cited the source of his power as Beelzebul. Later Jesus was to call them "blind" guides.[173] Thus, as in general healing episodes Matthew again uses the active form of θεραπεύω in a teaching context.

Matthew's use of θεραπεύω in the passive voice is quite different. Indeed, while forms of θεραπεύω occur fourteen times in *Matthew*,[174] θεραπεύω occurs only once in the passive voice,[175] in an episode that is significant for its unusual language, context, and content. As well as being the only occasion in *Matthew* where θεραπεύω appears in the passive voice, it is also the only occasion where πάσχω appears in Matthew's language of healing, and the only occasion where ἐπιτιμάω occurs in the act of healing.

The condition of the patient, the son of the man requesting the cure, is described as:

> σεληνιάζεται καὶ κακῶς πάσχει.[176]

Jesus' treatment is recorded thus:

> καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον· καὶ ἐθεραπεύθη ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης.[177]

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[173] See below for a discussion of the significance of the verb θεραπεύω in Pharisaic thought and conversation.

[174] Mt 4.23, 24; 8.7, 16; 9.35; 10.1, 8; 12.15, 22; 14.14; 15.30; 17.18; 19.2; 21.14

[175] Mt 17.18

[176] Mt 17.15. One would expect ἔχει, in keeping with Matthew's normal usage. But note the manuscript variation. Metzger (1975) 43, *re* 17.15 πάσχει {C}: "The reading κακῶς ἔχει appears to have been substituted for κακῶς πάσχει, either as a more idiomatic Greek expression or because κακῶς πάσχει was thought to be pleonastic."

[177] Mt 17.18

This is the only occasion in *Matthew* where a δαιμόνιον is specifically linked with epilepsy. And here, despite Jesus' previously giving the twelve authority (10.1) to "heal", and the command (10.8) to do so, they were unable to do so in this case (17.16), much to Jesus' chagrin (17.17). When the disciples ask Jesus privately why they were unable to "heal", the reply is:

> διὰ τὴν ὀλιγοπιστίαν ὑμῶν.[178]

Then follows the famous saying about faith the size of a mustard seed.

In this story, Jesus cured by command, with authority and anger (ἐπετίμησεν). As has been noted, this is the only occasion in *Matthew* that ἐπιτιμάω occurs in the act of healing.[179] However, the use of this verb to describe Jesus' behaviour on another occasion is worth noting. At 8.26 Jesus ἐπετίμησεν the winds and the sea, and then, just as at 17.20, chided the disciples for their ὀλιγοπιστίαν. The similarity in usage, and the combination of terminology, are too striking to ignore. The linking of ἐπιτιμάω and ὀλιγοπιστία in both stories highlights Jesus' immense ἐξουσία, over the forces of nature,[180] and over the forces of evil.[181] Both episodes attempt to measure success or failure in terms of faith. The disciples, guilty of ὀλιγοπιστία in chapter eight, nevertheless are given authority to "heal" (10.1) by Jesus. However, they remain guilty of ὀλιγοπιστία (17.20), and therefore of failure. Faith therefore, for Matthew, both of the person requesting the healing, and of the person performing the healing, is of enormous importance to the outcome.[182] This particular healing, in common with other healings specifically cited by Matthew[183] is a healing performed in response to a parental request, made in faith. However, through his choice of language, Matthew highlights the immense significance of this particular healing story.

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178 Mt 17.20

179 But see 12.16, where it occurs after a healing episode. See also App. 7:13 for the use of this verb in the context of other healing stories in the New Testament.

180 Mt 8

181 Mt 17. But the sea was associated with evil in the Old Testament, so that, in both episodes, Jesus is depicted as overcoming the power of evil. (See, for example, Isaiah 27.1)

182 Note the episode in Nazareth, where the people were without faith (13.58).

183 See below, chapter eight.

Howard Clark Kee,[184] attempting to isolate the meaning of ἐπιτιμάω in Mark's exorcism stories, has noted that it is equivalent to a Semitic root found in several of the Qumran texts.[185]

He has pointed out that the common translation of ἐπιτιμάω as "rebuked", does not do it justice, but rather that the use of ἐπιτιμάω describes:

> "... the word of command that brought ... hostile powers under control ..."[186]

Therefore this story contains several interesting features, described in unusual language. Matthew's single usage of ἐπετίμησεν to describe the act of healing, and the single usage of πάσχει and ἐθεραπεύθη, all combine to signal the uniqueness of the episode. Not least of these is the use of θεραπεύω in the passive voice, describing the intervention and activity of God.[187] On other occasions when the passive voice of a healing verb is required to describe a healing episode, Matthew chooses to use ἰάομαι, σῴζω and καθαίρω.[188] The context of this story is also significant: it is the first healing episode after Peter's declaration of Jesus' identity.[189] This story is designed to provide further 'proof' of the veracity of Peter's declaration, should the reader require it.

The use of θεραπεύω in thought or conversation

Jesus is reported by the synoptists as using θεραπεύω in direct speech on five occasions.[190] Matthew reports that Jesus used θεραπεύω in the future tense (θεραπεύσω), describing his intention, in reply to the centurion's request to heal his son,[191] although the centurion uses forms of ἰάομαι when making his

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184 (1968) 232-246

185 ibid. 232

186 ibid. 246

187 The other two instances of this form of θεραπεύω occur in *Revelation* (13.3,12), in a description of the vision of the first beast. It had seemed to have a mortal wound on one of its heads, but the wound had been healed. The inference is that the scarring is visible, so that the state of the beast, while healed, is different to its original state. This usage of θεραπεύω is in keeping with the Lukan usages of θεραπεύω, and that of the author of the gospel of John: the third person passive is the Jewish way of describing the activity of God without mentioning the divine name. For example, the passive voice is also used in this way in Matthew's account of the Beatitudes (5.3-10). See Wilcox (1965) 127-8; Beare (1981) 129; Wilcox (1984) 1017.

188 See Apps 8:3, 8:4, 7:10, 7:11, 7:13.

189 See App. 7:4.

190 Mt 8.7, 10.8; Lk 4.23, 10.9, 14.3

191 Mt 8.7, the only occasion Matthew uses θεραπεύω in the future tense (see App. 7:9).

request.[192] The second time in *Matthew* that Jesus uses θεραπεύω in direct speech is when he commissions his disciples, and commands them to "θεραπεύετε" (10.8). Luke also reports this command to the disciples using the same form of θεραπεύω (10.9).[193]

An interesting form of θεραπεύω occurs at Luke 4.23, where Luke has Jesus recount the proverb " Ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν" referring to himself, the only use of the aorist active imperative of θεραπεύω in the New Testament. What does this proverb (παραβολή) mean?

Although many explanations, ranging from physical to behavioural abnormalities, have been attempted,[194] no one explanation has been completely satisfying. Therefore we must seek some answer from the context in which this saying occurs. Jesus (according to Luke) had only just begun his ministry prior to this episode at Nazareth. Following his baptism,[195] and the temptation in the wilderness,[196] Jesus, in the power of

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192 Mt 8.8: ἰαθήσεται. See App. 8:4.

193 For a discussion of the language of commands and commissions, see below, chapter ten.

194 Hobart (1882) 1, says of this saying: "there would seem to have been somewhat similar sayings used in the [medical] profession". However Hobart, contrary to his usual practice, only cites the following example (Galen, *Comm.* 4.9, *Epid.* 6. [17. B. 151]): ἕτερον δ' ἰατρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἀσίας οἶδα δυσώδεις ἔχοντα τὰς μάλας ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ φέρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον ἄνθρωπον νοσοῦντα μηδένα καθάριον. ἐχρῆν οὖν αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἰᾶσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα καὶ οὕτως ἐπιχειρεῖν ἑτέρους θεραπεύειν. This is a notable example, for Galen uses ἰᾶσθαι to mean *heal/cure*, in contrast to θεραπεύειν, which seems in this context to mean *treat medically* rather than *cure*. θεραπεύειν is also linked with the verb ἐπιχειρεῖν, a verb which means *to endeavour to, to make an attempt* thus involving the idea of a process which requires effort, effort which may be either successful or unsuccessful in its outcome. As far as the physician himself was concerned, his disability was of a physically repellant nature - δυσώδεις ἔχοντα τὰς μάλας - and that Jesus himself was physically repellant in some way has been suggested by those seeking to find a meaning for Jesus' use of this proverb concerning himself. This may have a factual foundation. Certainly there seems to be some evidence that Jesus was physically unattractive, for Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.75 reports Celsus as saying that Jesus' body was, "as they say, small and ugly and undistinguished". However, Morton Smith (1978) 32, suggests that abnormal behaviour on Jesus' part led others to assume he was demonic and therefore insane (Jn 7.20, 8.52, 10.20), and so, in the eyes of others, in need of medical treatment himself. This explanation of the meaning of Luke 4.23 is unsatisfactory. Luke has not mentioned any exorcisms prior to Jesus' saying. To make any sense, the answer must lie in Luke's preceding material, not in unrelated incidents in other gospels. Cf. the use of this form of θεραπεύω in the writings of Marcus Aurelius (App. 5:7, 6), and for a discussion, see above, chapter five. Cf. also the use of θεραπεύω in the Septuagint (App. 6:1), Josephus (App. 6:2) and Philo especially (App. 6:3), where in a teaching and spiritual context (and Luke certainly places this story in a teaching and spiritual context) θεραπεύω refers primarily to the health and well-being of the soul, and the nurturing of the God-human relationship.

195 Lk 3.21-22

196 Lk 4.1-13

the spirit, returned to Galilee. As a result of this a report was circulated concerning him, and he began teaching (ἐδίδασκεν) in their synagogues, being glorified by all.[197] So, all we know of his behaviour[198] (and all that he could expect the people of Nazareth to know of his current behaviour prior to his visit there - after all we do not know how long he had been away from Nazareth) was that he was a gifted teacher, whose custom was to go to the synagogue on the sabbath (4.16). He is described only as being "in the power of the spirit" (whatever that may mean) and being glorified because of his teaching. So Luke has given us only a location (Galilee), and an example of his behaviour there: teaching. When Jesus arrived at Nazareth he continued this behaviour by attending the synagogue there on the sabbath, reading and interpreting scripture.[199] The scripture chosen is significant. It is a proclamation of Jesus' mission, but although those present speak well of him, and wonder, Jesus does not expect to be accepted. He is defensive when he talks to them, and then, it seems, deliberately offensive when he recounts those whom God has helped in the past - a widow and a Syrian leper - while ignoring the Israelites. Matthew and Mark do not record Jesus' reading from scripture or his interpretation of it at Nazareth.[200] The only comment the three synoptists share is that concerning a prophet being without honour in his own country. Why does Luke include these sayings, and at this point?

After reading the scripture and announcing its fulfilment, Luke reports that Jesus said, "Doubtless you will quote to me this proverb, 'Physician, heal yourself; what we have heard you did at Capernaum, do here also in your own country."[201] This is the first we have heard of Jesus' actions at Capernaum, apart from his teaching and being "in the power of the spirit" in Galilee. Luke does not record any healing miracles until Jesus' next visit to Capernaum,[202] and only one of these, a general healing episode, contains the word θεραπεύω.[203] θεραπεύω then, must have more than a physical connotation. It must have a spiritual dimension, that is the product of

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197 Lk 4.14-15

198 The role of reader in the narrative is important here. See above, n.32.

199 Lk 4.18-21

200 Although both place him in the synagogue, teaching. See Mt 13.53-58; Mk 6.1-6.

201 Lk 4.23 (Apps 7:3, 7:8)

202 Lk 4.31-41 (App. 7:3)

203 Lk 4.40

spiritual teaching.[204] So, it would seem that Jesus is commenting on his own spiritual relationship with God, which would be a perfectly normal thing to do in his home town, after the extraordinary spiritual claims he has just made in his interpretation of scripture. It is possible that Jesus was referring to a physical shortcoming[205] as well, but it is far more likely that he was attempting to overcome the genuine and natural disbelief that could be expected to be shown by those who had watched him grow up, in the light of the extraordinary claim he has just made.

Jesus' final use of θεραπεύω in conversation occurs at Luke 14.3, where Jesus asks the lawyers and Pharisees whether it is lawful to heal/treat people on the sabbath. Indeed θεραπεύω is always the healing verb chosen by the synoptists[206] when Jews, especially Pharisees, wonder and talk about Jesus' healing activities. Thus do the Pharisees wonder whether Jesus will heal on the sabbath,[207] the ruler of the synagogue commands people to come and be healed/treated on any other day but the sabbath,[208] the Pharisees perceive Jesus' behaviour in Luke's account of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand.[209] Finally, it is used to describe the perception of the man lame from birth, whom Peter had caused to walk, in the Lukan account in *Acts*, by the rulers, elders and scribes, and the high priest and all who were of high-priestly family.[210] It is the only occurrence of the verb θεραπεύω in this (very long) story. Luke chooses specific language to describe the healing itself: the man's feet and ankles were made strong (ἐστερεώθησαν), so that, jumping up, he stood and began walking about (ἐξαλλόμενος ἔστη καὶ περιεπάτει), walking about and praising God (περιπατῶν καὶ ἁλλόμενος καὶ αἰνῶν τὸν θεόν). Peter later (3.16) describes the man as made strong (ἐστερέωσεν), and in perfect health (ὁλοκληρίαν); and when describing him to all the rulers, noted above, who saw him as τὸν τεθεραπευμένον (4.14), Peter describes him (4.9) as a man who has been saved (σέσωται). Later (4.22), Luke describes the incident as: τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως. As in the three

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204 See above, chapter six, and n.194 above, for a discussion of the meaning of θεραπεύω in a spiritual and teaching context. Cf. also Epicurus (App. 3:5, 1).

205 See above, n.194.

206 But note that John also (5.10), in his only use of θεραπεύω, uses it to describe the man who had been healed by Jesus on the sabbath, when the Jews addressed him. (Cf. John 9.1-41)

207 Mk 3.2

208 Lk 13.13

209 Lk 6.6-11; cf. Mt. 12.9-14; Mk. 3.1-6

210 Acts 4.14. See Acts 3.1-26, 4.1-22.

synoptic gospels, θεραπεύω is chosen to describe a person perceived as a patient by Jewish elders. Elsewhere the healing language is clinical (the miracle itself), or other words are chosen (σῴζω, ἰάομαι).

In the synoptic accounts all healings where the verb θεραπεύω is used to describe authoritative thought in a controversial sense occur on the sabbath. When the Pharisees wonder what Jesus will "do", they do so in terms of θεραπεύω. Does this have any significance for the meaning of θεραπεύω?

All three synoptic gospels contain parallel accounts of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand.[211] Mark notes that they (the Pharisees) watched him (Jesus), to see if he would heal (θεραπεύσει) the man. Luke's account is similar: he adds that the scribes were there as well, and he changes Mark's future tense θεραπεύσει to the present θεραπεύει. Both Mark and Luke frame Jesus' question about the legality of his actions around the words "to save life" (ψυχὴν σῶσαι), while Matthew prefers to illustrate the point with an example of conditions under which it was permissible to break the sabbath law,[212] also a story about saving life. Luke adopts this method of illustration in the sabbath healings peculiar to his gospel.[213] The important point to note here is that Jesus equates all these healings with saving life. Pharisaic law allowed the sabbath to be broken where there was a "threat to life".[214] This explains why, when Jesus spoke in terms of saving life, the Pharisees were unable to openly accuse Jesus of wrongdoing. Jesus' form of questioning was normal rabbinical practice, where points of law were disputed. So, it appears that implicit in the meaning of θεραπεύω is the concept of saving life. However Luke tells us (6.6) that when Jesus healed the man with the withered hand, his primary purpose in going to the synagogue had been to teach (διδάσκειν). Similarly, in the case of the bent woman (13.10), Jesus was in the synagogue, teaching (διδάσκων). Thus the healings, clothed in the question-and-answer rabbinical teaching technique, illustrate Jesus' teaching. But they also exemplify "work". All stories, put into Jesus' mouth as examples of saving life, involve work.[215] Indeed, in the story of the bent woman, the ruler of the synagogue,

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211 Mk 3.1-5; Mt 12. 9-14; Lk 6.6-11

212 Mt 12.11-12

213 Lk 13.15, 14.5

214 Wilcox (1982) 176. See especially 176-177, and n.247, for a discussion of Pharisaic law and practice regarding the sabbath.

215 Mt 12.11-12; Lk 13.15; 14.5

> "indignant because Jesus had healed (ἐθεράπευσεν) on the sabbath, said to the people, 'There are six days on which work ought to be done (δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι); come on those days and be healed (θεραπεύεσθε), and not on the sabbath day.'"[216]

He obviously understands healing treatment to be work (ἐργάζεσθαι).[217] That a Jewish ruler understands the meaning of θεραπεύω in this way is entirely consistent with the use of the term by all other New Testament authors.[218] Luke's description of the healing itself is clinical. Jesus

> "said to her, 'Woman, you are freed from your weakness.'[219] And he laid his hands upon her, and immediately she was made straight, and she began glorifying God." (καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ, Γύναι, ἀπολέλυσαι τῆς ἀσθενείας σου, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας· καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνωρθώθη, καὶ ἐδόξαζεν τὸν θεόν)[220]

Luke does not leave the reader in any doubt as to the physical symptoms of the patient (καὶ ἦν συγκύπτουσα καὶ μὴ δυναμένη ἀνακύψαι εἰς τὸ παντελές), the length of her illness (ἔτη δεκαοκτώ), or her physical state after the healing (παραχρῆμα ἀνωρθώθη). Nor does Luke leave the reader in any doubt as to his understanding of Jesus' perception of the cause of her illness: she was separated from God (i.e. in the grip of Satan). This story makes it clear that θεραπεύω is a theological rather than a technical healing term. (No other general descriptive healing term occurs in this story.) It is a description of the process which occurs when the gap between the patient and "God" is closed, when an individual's sense of alienation and separation is destroyed. Thus θεραπεύω is used in the New Testament in the sense of the Hebrew "shalom", particularly by the synoptists.

Thus the notion of θεραπεύω in Pharisaic thought in the synoptic gospels involves the idea of sabbath-breaking work. This idea is also found in the gospel of John, where, in the context of a controversial sabbath healing, Jesus says:

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216 Lk 13.14

217 Cf. Jn 5.1-15

218 See below, 160.

219 Luke (13.11) describes her as having had a spirit of "weakness" (ἀσθενείας) for eighteen years.

220 Lk 13.12-13 (App. 7:3)

"Ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, κἀγὼ ἐργάζομαι."[221]

The patient in this case had been sick for thirty-eight years. Jesus chose to heal him, one of many who were ill, on the sabbath. John's only use of θεραπεύω occurs in this story, as a description of the man - τῷ τεθεραπευμένῳ - when the Jews addressed him.[222] John explains (5.16) that "this was why the Jews persecuted Jesus, because he did this on the sabbath." Thus Jesus' answer (5.17): "My Father is working (ἐργάζεται) still, and I am working (ἐργάζομαι)" is significant. So it seems when the Pharisees wonder what Jesus will do, and they think in terms of θεραπεύω, that θεραπεύω for them involves the notion of work in a sense that the other components of Jesus' ministry - preaching and teaching - do not. And yet the gospel authors continually link the word θεραπεύω with Jesus' teaching, and preaching. Perhaps this is why the three words go together as an indissoluble unity to describe Jesus' ministry - θεραπεύω is the visible effect of teaching and preaching, the 'action' product of the message.

So, following a study of θεραπεύω as it occurs in thought and conversation, it becomes apparent that θεραπεύω is consistently used by Jews, and particularly Pharisees, in the context of Sabbath teaching and healing. When not used in thought or conversation[223] the verb θεραπεύω is used in a descriptive sense: to describe Jesus' behaviour, the disciples' behaviour, and crowd response to the behaviour of Jesus, Peter, Philip, and Paul.[224] But what of the meaning and usage of the cognate forms of θεραπεύω?

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221 Jn 5.17: "My father is still working, and I also am working." See Jn 5.1-18.

222 John prefers to use ὑγιής to describe Jesus' language to the patient, and to describe the state of the man after Jesus had spoken to him. See below, chapter nine, and Apps 9:1 and 9:2.

223 There are two other occasions when θεραπεύω is used in direct speech in the New Testament by people other than Jesus, and the Jewish hierarchy. The first occurs at Matthew 17.16 when the father of the epileptic boy explains to Jesus that the disciples were unable to heal his son (see above, 152-5); and the second is a Lukan usage at Acts 17.25, occurring in a speech of Paul's at Athens about the nature of God: "nor is he cared for (θεραπεύεται) by human hands, as though he needed anything, since he himself gives life and breath and everything to all." It is significant that Paul, an ex-Pharisee, should be quoted as using this word in this context. Here the notion implied in θεραπεύω is definitely one of "nurturing", embracing the continuous ideas of serving, looking after, diagnosing and attending to needs.

224 It also describes the healed beast (Revelation 13.3, 12).

The noun θεραπεία occurs three times in the New Testament, twice in Luke's gospel, and once in *Revelation*.[225] Luke uses the genitive singular form (θεραπείας) twice, the first occurring in a general healing episode, immediately prior to his account of the feeding of the 5,000.

> "After he (Jesus) welcomed them (the crowd) he began speaking to them of the kingdom of God, and those in need of treatment he began healing (καὶ τοὺς χρείαν ἔχοντας θεραπείας ἰᾶτο)"[226]

Again, in keeping with the verbal use of θεραπεύω in crowd scenes, the therapy appears to be Jesus' message about the kingdom of God. This is a striking example of Luke's use of θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι side-by-side, and it is obvious that Luke is investing both words with a primarily spiritual meaning. His use of the imperfect tense of ἰάομαι also introduces the notion of process to the event, perhaps implying treatment of individuals both one-by-one, and by degree, the degree of healing being dependent on the degree of listening to (ἀκούω) and understanding of Jesus' message.

Luke's second use of θεραπείας occurs in his account of Jesus' reply to Peter, concerning the wise and faithful servant, "whom his master will set over his household (θεραπείας), to give them their portion of food (σιτομέτριον) at the proper time."[227] In this context θεραπείας means "household," (i.e. the individuals living in the house under the jurisdiction of the master, who, in this instance, is responsible for providing their life-sustaining food), rather than "treatment". However, the sense of nurturing is common to both uses of the word.[228] Elsewhere the gospel authors portray Jesus as equating food with spiritual teaching, both in word,[229] and deed.[230]

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225 The accusative singular θεραπείαν occurs at *Revelation* 22.2 in a description of the tree of life, where the leaves of the tree are described as being for the healing treatment of the nations (καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν). Wilcox (1977) 85, states that ξύλου here "refers to the 'tree of life,' recalling Gen. 2:9b; 3: 22,24 (and also passages found in certain of the apocalyptic books)", such as *1 Enoch* 24:4; 25:1-6; *T. Levi* 18:11; 4 Ezra 8:52; 1QH 8:5.

226 Lk 9.11. See below, chapter eight, for a discussion of Luke's use of forms of θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι in close proximity.

227 Lk 12.42

228 Cf. Mt 24.45, where Matthew uses οἰκετείας in a parallel saying.

229 Mt 4.4 (Deut. 8.3); Mk 6.52; Jn 4.31-34; 6.25-27, 34, 35, 48-51

230 Mk 6.34-44; 8.1-10; Mt 14.13-21; 15.32-39; Lk 9.11-17; Jn 6.1-14

The cognate form θεράπων occurs only once in the New Testament.[231] It is used to describe Moses' relationship with God, as faithful servant (θεράπων), in contrast to Jesus' relationship with God as son (υἱός). So θεράπων faithfully reflects its Homeric meaning and usage,[232] when used to describe Patroklos' relationship to Achilleus, by Achilleus (*Iliad* 16.244), and by Patroklos (*Iliad* 23.89-90). Thus the notions of love and loyalty, nurture and service, are implicit in both Homeric and New Testament usage.

Following our investigation of the incidence of all forms of θεραπεύω in the New Testament are we then any closer to an understanding of the meaning of this family of words?

So far we have established:
(i) that it is consistently used by the synoptists to describe the effect of Jesus' presence in crowd situations, and that this effect is linked with preaching and teaching,
(ii) that Matthew can even substitute it for the verb διδάσκω in material with a Markan parallel,[233] which implies that, for him, the activities of teaching and healing were similar,
(iii) that it is invariably the Jewish, and especially Pharisaic, word for sabbath healing, and that there is implicit in its meaning the notion of "work" in the Jewish and Pharisaic understanding of the term,
(iv) that it was part of Jesus' ongoing commission to his disciples, and their response to this commission was reported by the synoptists in the imperfect tense and linked with the activities of preaching and teaching,
(v) that discipleship seems to be the result of many θεραπεύω episodes.

Thus θεραπεύω seems to be a description of a process which occurs when the gap between a human and God is closed, i.e. when an individual's sense of alienation and separation from God is destroyed, and that individual becomes aware of the presence of the kingdom (i.e. "God"), and inclusion in a new spiritual community. In this way θεραπεύω is primarily a spiritual term, but it can have a holistic effect, affecting the physical, mental, and emotional state of a person, as well as a person's spiritual state.

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231 Hebrews 3.5 (App. 7:8)
232 See above, chapter one.
233 Cf. Mk 10.1; Mt 19.2

But perhaps the meaning of θεραπεύω will become clearer still after a study of the other general healing terms the New Testament authors chose to use in their narratives. The next important term to consider in this context is ἰάομαι.

Chapter Eight

The New Testament use of ἴάομαι

ἴάομαι occurs twenty-six times in verbal form in the New Testament.[1] Of these twenty-six, fifteen are Lukan usages (gospel eleven,[2] *Acts* four[3]). Matthew uses ἴάομαι four times,[4] John three times,[5] and Mark once.[6] ἴάομαι also appears once in *Hebrews*,[7] and in the letters of Peter[8] and James.[9]

It is again obvious that Luke is most at home with the Greek language. He uses ἴάομαι in a variety of forms, in differing tenses, and voices. He is the only author to use ἴάομαι in the present and imperfect tenses in the middle voice (six times), always describing the activities of Jesus, although he designates Peter as the channel in one instance (Acts 9.34).[10] Luke chooses the aorist tense of the middle voice only to describe the activities of Jesus and Paul (Acts 28.8).[11] Indeed, the only other authors to use the middle voice are Matthew (quoting the Septuagint), and John (once quoting the Septuagint, and once in reported speech). All other instances of the verb ἴάομαι appear in the passive voice, a typically Jewish way of describing the activity of God.[12]

Mark

The only use of the perfect tense of ἴάομαι in the New Testament occurs, not unexpectedly, in Mark's gospel.[13] It is his only use of the verb, and

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1 See Apps 8:3 and 8:4.

2 Lk 5.17, 6.18, 6.19, 7.7, 8.47, 9.2, 9.11, 9.42, 14.4, 17.15, 22.51 (App. 8:3)

3 Acts 9.34, 10.38, 28.8, 28.27 (App. 8:3)

4 Mt 8.8, 8.13, 13.15, 15.28 (App. 8:3)

5 Jn 4.47, 5.13, 12.40 (App. 8:3)

6 Mk 5.29 (App. 8:3)

7 Hebrews 12.13 (App. 8:3)

8 1 Peter 2.24 (App. 8:3)

9 James 5.16 (App. 8:3)

10 See App. 8:4.

11 See Apps 7:3, 8:1, 8:3 and 8:4.

12 As noted above (chapter seven), the third person passive is the Jewish way of describing the activity of God without mentioning the divine name. See Wilcox (1965) 127-8; Beare (1981) 129, 133; Wilcox (1984) 1017.

13 Mark likes the perfect tense. See above, chapter seven, n.44 (i). It is possible that that this may reflect the Aramaic/Hebrew perfect(ive) form.

appears in the third person singular indicative, in a passive sense, in his story of the haemorrhaging woman in her thoughts concerning the state of her body, after she had touched Jesus' cloak (καὶ ἔγνω τῷ σώματι ὅτι ἴαται ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγος (5.29)). The woman thinks in terms of σῴζω and ἰάομαι; Mark reports Jesus as using the terms σῴζω and ὑγιής. Mark's use of the perfect form makes it perfectly clear that, in this case, the woman is experiencing a present state, following a completed action. No more treatment is necessary. Jesus too makes it obvious that the action is completed: he knew that power had gone out from him (τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν (5.30)). Thus ἰάομαι in *Mark* describes instantaneous healing, as a result of faith, faith so great it causes Jesus to comment. Mark chooses this verb for the healing of an "unclean" woman. Matthew does not follow suit, only choosing ἰάομαι to describe gentile healings. Matthew concludes his description of this healing with a passive form of σῴζω, while Luke, in contrast, is quite happy to conclude his narrative account with a passive form of ἰάομαι,[14] although, like Mark, he has Jesus issue a command after his statement "Daughter, your faith has saved you (θυγάτηρ, ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε)".[15] Mark adds ὕπαγε εἰς εἰρήνην, καὶ ἴσθι ὑγιὴς ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγός σου, which Luke reduces to πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην.[16] However, all three synoptists focus on the link between σῴζω and πίστις in this healing story.[17]

Matthew

Matthew uses the aorist passive[18] third person singular of ἰάομαι on two occasions, to describe two healings: those of the centurion's boy (8.13), and the Canaanite woman's daughter (15.28). Both occasions record Jesus' ability to heal *in absentia*, in answer to a "parental" request.[19] On

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14 Lk 8.47: ἰάθη. Cf. Mt 9.22

15 Mt 9.22; Mk 5.34; Lk 8.48

16 Lk 8.48. See above, chapter six, for a discussion of the use of εἰρήνη and ὑγιής in the Septuagint (App. 6:1, 43, 66, 68, 71); and below, chapter nine.

17 See below, chapter nine, for a discussion of the frequent linking of these two word groups.

18 The aorist passive of ἰάομαι occurs ten times in the New Testament, accounting for 83% of the use of this verb in the passive voice. As one would expect, Luke uses it the most - four times in his gospel - Matthew twice, and John once. Other examples of the aorist passive occur once each in *James* and *1 Peter*, and once in *Hebrews*. See App. 8:4.

19 The centurion's paralytic παῖς (8.5-13), and the Canaanite woman's badly demonic daughter (15.21-28). The Greek term παῖς is ambiguous, but whether a slave, servant or son, the centurion had an emotional, legal, and financial investment in his well-being. Whatever his status, the centurion was acting *in loco parentis* for him, and therefore with parental authority.

both occasions the faith of the "parent" in Jesus' power is noted by Jesus, and healing is in response to this faith:

> Ὕπαγε, ὡς ἐπίστευσας γενηθήτω σοι (8.13)
> Ὦ γύναι, μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις· γενηθήτω σοι ὡς θέλεις (15.28)

On both occasions, like the ἐθεραπεύθη episode discussed above,[20] the healing occurred from the very hour Jesus had spoken to the "parents":

> καὶ ἰάθη ὁ παῖς (αὐτοῦ) ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (8.13)
> καὶ ἰάθη ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης (15.28)

Therefore ἰάομαι in *Matthew* only records specific healings which are performed *in absentia*, are in answer to the faith of a "parent" in Jesus' ἐξουσία, and are instantaneous. The use of the passive voice also signals that Matthew is justifying these healings by appealing to a higher power. The use of the third person passive in Jewish thought describes the action of God, and accounts for the instantaneous nature of these cures (and of the cure of the epileptic boy, which Matthew described with the passive voice of the verb θεραπεύω).[21]

It is significant that Matthew chooses ἰάομαι to recount these gentile healing stories. In the first story, the centurion, a member of the Roman occupying forces,[22] would have been seen as an outsider by the Jewish people, as a particularly loathsome gentile. In the second story, the mother is a Canaanite, and therefore not only a member of a gentile nation, but a gentile nation with a long history of inciting Jewish enmity.[23] The mother's importunity is the catalyst for a conversation between the mother and Jesus concerning the relative claims of the Jews and the gentiles on Jesus. Jesus is reluctant to act: he ignores her, and then questions her about her rights. When she asks only for scraps (i.e. what the Jews themselves did not want) Jesus makes it clear that it is only her exceptional faith that causes the healing of her daughter.

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20 See above, chapter seven, 152-5.

21 ibid. Also see above, n.12.

22 Despite the comments in Sanders and Davies (1989) 307 to the contrary, it was normal practice for client princes to second Roman officers, so this man could easily have been a Roman centurion as both Matthew and Luke understood him to be.

23 Mt 15.21-28

Therefore, in both instances of gentile healing - the centurion's boy, and the Canaanite woman's daughter - Matthew takes pains to make the healing action intelligible and acceptable to his Jewish audience. It is significant that in this story he appears to have reworked Mark's version,[24] using different language to describe the healing itself (Mark does not use ἰάομαι), and also to describe the mother. (Mark defines her as a Syro-Phoenician, the more common gentile, rather than Jewish, word for people of that region.)[25]

Therefore Matthew's choice of language is a conscious decision, a decision that can only be explained if ἰάομαι has a gentile connotation to Matthew and does not involve any on-going treatment or association between Jesus and the patient. This explains why he chooses to use θεραπεύω in his account of the healing of the epileptic boy, a boy with whom both he (and his disciples) had direct contact.[26] There isn't any teaching associated with the healings described by ἰάομαι, nor is there any physical contact. Instead, Matthew uses a Greek verb that has enjoyed a long history in the language of healing in the gentile world[27] to describe healings of two extraordinarily gentile people - is there a more genuine gentile than a soldier of a foreign occupying army, or a Canaanite woman? - but he stresses the extraordinary faith of each to explain God's intervention to his Jewish readers.

Matthew also uses ἰάομαι when quoting the Septuagint.[28] ἰάσομαι is part of a most significant passage, linking healing with seeing and hearing (and therefore understanding) God's message. Thus it is Jesus' message that causes the blind to see, the deaf to hear, and that ultimately brings healing. In *Matthew* it is obvious that Jesus is referring to spiritual sight,

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24 Mk 7.24-30

25 Thus the healing language of this story would support the theory, put forward by Ross Saunders (1991) 6, that "... Jesus came to bring the kingdom of God especially to the Jews, and only to those gentiles who showed outstanding faith...."

26 Mt 17.18

27 We have seen how ἰάομαι was already in use as part of the language of healing in the *Iliad* (see above, chapter one). But it is also important to note that ἰάομαι described the intervention of God in the Septuagint (see App. 6:1, and chapter six), as well as the healing action of Asklepios at Epidauros, Athens and Pergamon.

28 The future indicative first person singular of ἰάομαι occurs three times in the New Testament, at Matthew 13.15, John 12.40, and Acts 28.27, in parallel quotations of the Septuagint. John quotes Isaiah 6.10 (see App. 6:1, 62), in a passage explaining why people did not recognise Jesus' identity. A more accurate version of the longer passage (Isaiah 6.9-10), appears in *Matthew* and *Acts*.

spiritual hearing, and spiritual health. For he explains (13.16), that the eyes and ears of the disciples are blessed (μακάριοι), because they see and hear what many prophets and righteous men before them had longed to see and hear, but had not.[29]

Luke-Acts

The author of *Luke-Acts* does not use the verb ἰάομαι in the same way as the authors of *Matthew* and *Mark*, or indeed in the same way as the author of *John*.[30] However, as in *Mark* and *Matthew*, ἰάομαι in the passive is used to describe the intervention of God. It is Luke's use of the middle voice that differentiates his work from the other gospel authors.[31] As we have seen, both Mark and Matthew only choose ἰάομαι in specific healing episodes, and then in the passive voice.[32] In contrast, Luke uses both the middle and passive voice of ἰάομαι in both general and specific healing episodes.

The Lukan use of ἰάομαι in general healing episodes

Both Lukan usages of the imperfect middle of ἰάομαι occur in his gospel, and describe the behaviour of Jesus in a crowd situation.[33] Both are also linked to his preaching and teaching, and both appear in close proximity to a form of θεραπεύω. Thus it is at once obvious that, for Luke, it is

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29 At Acts 28.27, Paul uses this quotation as the final justification for his mission to the gentiles. Here healing is spiritual healing, incorporating spiritual understanding and perception, which, according to Paul, is the "salvation of God" (τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ (28.28)). Luke ends *Luke/Acts* by noting (28.31) that Paul continued "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ... (κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδάσκων τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). It is a fitting quotation to use at the end of his story about the preaching, teaching and healing message.

30 Thus the implication in the words of Oerke in Kittel *et al.* (1965) 204, that: "All the Gospels use ἰᾶσθαι of the work of Jesus, especially Luke" is questionable. Luke does use ἰᾶσθαι of the work of Jesus (and, surprisingly, of Paul, see below, 172), but his use of this verb is quite different from the other gospel authors.

31 Fourteen forms of ἰάομαι in the middle voice occur in the New Testament. Of these fourteen, eleven are Lukan, while two appear in the gospel of John (one quoting the Septuagint [12.40, see above, n.28], and one [the aorist subjunctive] in the reported speech of the official who asks Jesus to heal his son [4.47]), and one in Matthew's gospel (in a parallel quotation from the Septuagint [13.15, see above, n.28]). Of the eleven Lukan forms, five occur in the present tense, one in the imperfect, one in the future (in the parallel quotation from the Septuagint [28.27, see above, n.28]), and four in the aorist. See App. 8:4.

32 Except when quoting the Septuagint. This is true also of John (see App. 8:4).

33 See App. 8:4, ἰᾶτο.

important to establish a link in meaning between ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω.[34] In the first episode (6.19) Luke chooses θεραπεύω for those in the crowd who were troubled by unclean spirits (οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐθεραπεύοντο), whereas ἰάομαι is reserved for those of the crowd seeking to touch Jesus (καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐζήτουν ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο καὶ ἰᾶτο πάντας). Luke also differentiates in the voice of the verbs, although being careful to keep both in the imperfect tense. ἐθεραπεύοντο is in the third person plural passive, implying intervention by "God", whereas ἰᾶτο, in the third person singular middle, describes Jesus' behaviour. "Healing" in the imperfect tense and the middle voice is not instantaneous, but rather a process, especially in crowd situations. The language of this whole episode is immensely important for an understanding of Luke's message:

> "They came to hear him and to be healed from their illnesses; and those troubled with unclean spirits began being healed. And all the crowd were seeking to touch him, because power was radiating from him and he began healing them all (οἱ ἦλθον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐθεραπεύοντο. καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐζήτουν ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο καὶ ἰᾶτο πάντας)."[35]

Thus, for Luke (as for Mark and Matthew), healing by God or Jesus, is dependent on hearing (ἀκοῦσαι), and understanding, the message. It is this awareness of God's presence (the arrival of the kingdom) that brings spiritual healing (a process of understanding the message? inner peace? inclusion in the spiritual community?), and Jesus' touch that brings holistic health. This episode is immediately prior to Luke's account of Jesus' teaching about those who are blessed (μακάριοι).

Luke's use of the aorist passive infinitive ἰαθῆναι in the same passage deserves comment here. This is its only occurrence in the New Testament,[36] and describes a crowd of people who came to hear Jesus and to be healed of their diseases (οἱ ἦλθον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν

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[34] That there is a difference in meaning is obvious from Luke's use of both verbs. Perhaps each verb has a different meaning for different audiences. Is Luke's choice of healing language governed by his intended audience?

[35] Lk 6.18-19

[36] Lk 6.18. See App. 8:4, ἰαθῆναι.

νόσων αὐτῶν). Here healing is obviously dependent on hearing the message, and the use of the aorist passive infinitive implies that this is an instantaneous conversion experience. Luke immediately contrasts this with θεραπεύω[37] in the 3rd person plural imperfect passive, for "those troubled by unclean spirits" (6.19), and ἰάομαι in the 3rd person singular imperfect middle for a description of Jesus' effect on all those whom he touched.[38] Thus Luke invests ἰάομαι with the spiritual notion of the perception of God's presence (i.e. an awareness of the presence of the kingdom), and the physical notion of a healing process, inherent in Jesus' touch. In this way, the Greek medical "curing" verb assumes a theological dimension, and Luke also draws a parallel between the healing powers of God, and of Jesus.

Luke's second use of the imperfect middle form of ἰάομαι is immediately prior to his account of the feeding of the 5,000:

> "after he [Jesus] welcomed them [the crowd] he began speaking to them of the kingdom of God, and those in need of treatment he began healing (καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς χρείαν ἔχοντας θεραπείας ἰᾶτο)."[39]

Again Luke uses a sense form of θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι in close proximity. Thus both his Jewish and his gentile audience are alerted to his meaning. Their linking so closely with the message of the kingdom of God implies healing that is primarily spiritual in nature, but, as we have seen, this spiritual healing is holistic in effect, affecting the emotional, mental and physical state of a person as well. It is no accident that this episode is immediately prior to the feeding of the 5,000.

The Lukan use of ἰάομαι in specific healing episodes

All four uses of the third person singular middle aorist form of ἰάομαι in the New Testament are Lukan.[40] Luke only uses this form to describe the activities of Jesus (on three occasions) and Paul (on one occasion).

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37 See above, 148.

38 See above, 169.

39 Lk 9.11. See Apps 8:3 and 8:4.

40 Lk 9.42, 14.4, 22.51; Acts 28.8 (see App. 8:4, ἰάσατο).

The first (9.42) is a description of Jesus' action in Luke's version of the healing of the epileptic boy.[41] All synoptic gospels emphasise the significance of this healing by placing it after Peter's declaration of Jesus' identity,[42] and his transfiguration. Luke is curiously condensed in his account; it is Mark who gives the more clinical case history.[43] All three synoptists use this healing to portray Jesus' chagrin at the disciples' lack of faith. Luke is the only synoptist to choose ἰάομαι to describe the result of Jesus' action, action described by the verb ἐπιτιμάω.[44] As we have seen Matthew signals the importance of this episode by using the verb ἐπιτιμάω and the passive voice of θεραπεύω, whereas Mark describes the whole episode in precise language reminiscent of the Hippokratic description of an epileptic seizure.[45]

Luke's second use of this form occurs in his description of Jesus' action, when he heals the man with dropsy, on the sabbath.[46] Luke again uses forms of θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι in the one healing story. This is the only sabbath healing story recorded in the synoptic gospels that includes ἰάομαι in its healing language. The reason is that it is a story peculiar to Luke, and the only sabbath healing to take place outside a synagogue. Nevertheless, it occurs in the house of a leading Pharisee, so Luke is still careful to retain θεραπεύω when recounting conversation with the Pharisees. Thus he puts θεραπεύω into the mouth of Jesus, when Jesus asks the Pharisees whether it is lawful to heal (θεραπεῦσαι) on the sabbath.[47] All that Luke says of the actual event is that Jesus, "took him, healed him, and let him go (καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος ἰάσατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέλυσεν)", a most unsatisfactory description of a specific healing episode. The focus of the story is a controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees.[48] The man

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41 Lk 9.37-43

42 See App. 7:4.

43 Mk 9.14-27

44 But note that this verb is also found in the Lukan story of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law (App. 7:13). It is curious that Luke, who is generally thought to have belonged to the medical profession, should choose to use ἐπιτιμάω in a story where the illness was a fever.

45 Thus, in medical terms, Mark's story contains a fine piece of medical history, in contrast to the stories in both *Matthew* and *Luke*. Cf. Hippokrates, *The Sacred Disease*, 10. If Luke is supposed to have been a physician, what does this make Mark?

46 Lk 14.1-6

47 See above, 157.

48 Indeed Luke is fascinated by Jesus-Pharisaic controversies. For an analysis of Pharisaic issues raised by the synoptists, and a comparison of their treatment of them, see App. 7:7.

with dropsy is just a convenient prop in a dramatic altercation concerning the law, and the law, for the Pharisees and Jesus, concerned the meaning of θεραπεύω.[49] Luke, however, chooses to describe the event with ἰάομαι, a word aimed at his gentile audience.

Luke's final gospel use of ἰάσατο describes Jesus' action when he heals the severed right ear of the high priest's slave at the Mount of Olives.[50] There is no synoptic parallel to this healing, Mark only noting that the man's ear was severed,[51] while Matthew, typically, expands Mark's sayings in an effort to explain Jesus' betrayal.[52] It would seem then that an unhealed slave was incompatible with Luke's conception of Jesus, and incompatible with the message he wanted to convey.[53]

Luke's fourth and final use of ἰάσατο describes Paul's behaviour, and its effect on Publius' father at Malta.[54] This episode occurs in the final "we" passage of *Acts*. Paul, after praying (προσευξάμενος), "placed his hands on him and healed him (ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἰάσατο αὐτόν)". Publius had fulfilled the hospitality requirements laid down by Jesus,[55] with the effect that Paul healed (completed action) Publius' father of specific ailments (fever and dysentery).[56] As in the gospels this healing brought the weak (ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας) of the rest of the population to Paul, and they began being healed (ἐθεραπεύοντο). Luke contrasts the aspect of the two healing episodes by using the aorist tense of ἰάομαι for the healing of Publius' father, and the imperfect passive of θεραπεύω for the rest of the

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49 So Jesus argues for an extension to the Pharisaic rule that the sabbath should be broken if there was a threat to life. See above, 157, *re* θεραπεύσει (Mk 3.2); *re* θεραπεύει (Lk 6.6,9); and Jesus' examples of "saving" life: Mt 12.11; Lk 13.15; 14.5. See also Wilcox (1982) 176.

50 Lk 22.51

51 Mk 14.43-50

52 Mt 26.47-56

53 The institution of slavery was a normal and accepted part of the culture of the Graeco-Roman world. It is interesting that Luke, in the story of the healing of the centurion's "boy" is the only author to designate him as a δοῦλος (7.3), although he does later designate him as παῖς (7.7), as does Matthew (8.5); while John designates him as υἱός (4.46).

54 Acts 28.8

55 Mt 10.11-14; Mk 6.8-11; Lk 9.1-6, 10.4-9, especially 10.8-9; *GT* #14.

56 This is a puzzling Lukan use of ἰάομαι. Certainly, Luke also uses the middle voice for the words of Peter (Acts 9.34), but in the present tense, and in a conversion context. That this use (Acts 28.8) appears in a "we" passage, and the Peter episode does not, is perhaps significant. As well, the deliberate use of the aorist tense and middle voice (only used elsewhere of Jesus) is striking.

population. It is curious that Luke does not mention Paul preaching the gospel during this general healing episode.[57]

Two other Lukan uses of ἰάομαι in the middle voice occur in *Acts*. Both instances occur in speeches given by Peter, and both are in the present tense. Luke is the only author to use the present tense of ἰάομαι in the middle voice in a healing context.[58] The present participle (nominative singular masculine), only appears once in the New Testament,[59] in a speech given by Peter to the centurion Cornelius, and Cornelius' kinsmen and close friends as a description of Jesus' activity. It occurs in a chapter redolent of Homeric repetition of visions and orders. It is a crucial chapter for Luke's message that it was God's will that the gentiles receive the gospel. Peter describes to Cornelius how God sent the word (τὸν λόγον) to Israel, preaching good news of peace (εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην) by Jesus,[60] who:

> "went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him (ὃς διῆλθεν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἰώμενος πάντας τοὺς καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ".[61]

Here, Luke is obviously using ἰώμενος in the gospel sense of θεραπεύων, a word more familiar to his gentile audience[62] in its healing connotation, and yet he is careful to define those receiving this healing as those who were spiritually oppressed or separated from God. Thus ἰάομαι is invested with a spiritual dimension.

The other instance of ἰάομαι in the middle voice occurs in Peter's speech to the bedridden Aeneas: "Jesus Christ heals you..." (ἰᾶταί σε Ἰησοῦς

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57 However it is tempting to conclude that this is a "conversion" scene, in keeping with the gospels' use of θεραπεύω, and in keeping with the effect on the surrounding population of other specific healings recorded in *Acts* (see App. 8:1, Acts 9.32-35, and 36-43).

58 See Apps 8:3 and 8:4.

59 Acts 10.38

60 Acts 10.36

61 Acts 10.38

62 ἰάομαι had enjoyed a long history in the Greek language of healing, in the sense of "curing", and also described the healing intervention of "God", both in Asklepiadic literature (Part One), and in the Septuagint (App. 6:1); whereas θεραπεύω in the Greek language of healing contained the on-going notions of service, nurture, caring for, and medical treatment (nursing). See above, Part One. This particular use of ἰάομαι is very interesting, for it reflects the language of Wisdom 16.12 (App. 6:1, 40): καὶ γὰρ οὔτε βοτάνη οὔτε μάλαγμα ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ὁ σός, Κύριε, λόγος ὁ πάντα ἰώμενος.

Χριστός).[63] This healing is important as a catalyst for mass conversion: all the residents of Lydda and Sharon turned to the Lord (πάντες ... ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον).[64] We are not told why Peter chose Aeneas. The story appears only as an explanation for mass conversion. It is part of a conversion account, sandwiched between the conversion of Saul, and the raising of Dorcas (which also led to mass conversion). Luke appears to be trying to appeal to a hellenistic audience. He is certainly narrating events taking place in the hellenistic world, a world which seems far removed from the world of Jesus. Perhaps this accounts for the difference in healing accounts in the gospel and *Acts*, and Luke's need to stress signs and wonders in *Acts*, rather than the message of the gospel, which is love in action in the form of Jesus.[65]

This is noticeable when we compare these instances with the Lukan gospel usage of this verb. A good example, where Luke chooses the present infinitive of ἰάομαι in the middle voice,[66] occurs in an introductory statement to the story of the healing of the paralytic who was let down through the roof by his friends.[67] Luke notes (5.17) that the power of the Lord was to heal (καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτόν). However this healing allows Jesus to discuss his mission to forgive sins (heal) with the Pharisees and the teachers of the law, which is the spiritual focus of the story. Again Luke is investing ἰάομαι with a spiritual dimension. Neither Mark,[68] nor Matthew,[69] use ἰάομαι in this story.

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63 Acts 9.34 (see App. 8:4).

64 Acts 9.35

65 Indeed, one is conscious of a definite change, of a sense of loss, once the human Jesus disappears from New Testament healing narrative. See App. 8:1, and especially App. 8:2. Note also that the New Testament healing vocabulary changes after the gospels and *Acts*, referring to doctrine rather than people. This is most noticeable with the verbs ἰάομαι and ὑγιαίνω and their derivatives (see Apps 8:3, 8:4, 9:2). However, as we have seen, even θεραπεύω occurs in different contexts in *Acts* (see above, 148-50).

66 Although the perfect infinitive of ἰάομαι would appear in the same form - ἰᾶσθαι - it is certain that a present infinitive is intended at Luke 9.2, where Jesus commissions the disciples with a string of present infinitives, and it is probable that a present infinitive is intended at Luke 5.17 also. These are the only two occurrences of this form of ἰάομαι in the New Testament (see App. 8:4). For a discussion of Luke's use of ἰᾶσθαι at 9.2, see below, chapter ten.

67 Lk 5.17-26

68 Mk 2.1-12

69 Mt 9.1-8

Like Matthew, Luke also uses the aorist passive twice in his gospel,[70] but in two different healing stories. The first occurs in Luke's version of the story of the haemorrhaging woman, when she declares how she had been immediately healed (ὡς ἰάθη παραχρῆμα) after she touched the fringe of Jesus' cloak.[71] Luke had previously explained that although the woman had spent all her livelihood on physicians she was unable to be treated (θεραπευθῆναι). While he does follow Mark, as does Matthew, in focusing on the link between σῴζω and πίστις, Luke is the only one to combine θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι in his story. By now, this does not surprise us. It is significant that he chooses the passive form of both verbs in this story. As a haemorrhaging woman, this woman would have been classed as ritually "unclean" by her Jewish contemporaries, and therefore would have been excluded from participating in the religious life of her community. Mark records that she had been ill for twelve years,[72] thus her sense of isolation and alienation must have been unbearably acute. Both Mark[73] and Luke[74] report Jesus as instructing her to "Go in peace", both choosing present imperatives (Mark: ὕπαγε; Luke: πορεύου). The idea of a life journey in a continuing state of peace (εἰρήνην), as a result of a faith (πίστις) action which saved (σέσωκέν) is thus introduced. In this way it becomes obvious that the woman's physical health is only a guide to a much deeper spiritual message.

We have already seen how the synoptists consistently use θεραπεύω to describe the active effect of Jesus' proclamation of the presence of the kingdom, and how this effect produces a change in thinking (μετάνοια) and includes those who experience it in a new spiritual community, a spiritual community that is aware of the presence of God. These people experience shalom. The nearest Greek word to this Hebrew word is εἰρήνη, the word chosen by Mark as Jesus' command, and retained by Luke.[75] For twelve years this woman had been excluded from her spiritual community. Now, as the result of her action, and the

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70 In the aorist passive indicative 3rd person singular. See App. 8:4, ἰάθη.

71 Lk 8.47

72 Mk 5.25. Jairus' daughter, whose story is closely linked with this one, is also, according to Mark (5.42), twelve years old. Obviously the number twelve is of religious significance.

73 Mk 5.34

74 Lk 8.48

75 Cf. the use of εἰρήνη in the Septuagint (and see App. 6:1, 43, 66, 68, 71). Cf. also Acts 10.36.

intervention of God (passive verbs), she is restored not only to physical health, but to membership of her community. Thus the primary focus of this story is the restoration of this woman to full participation in her spiritual community.

Luke's other use of this form of ἰάομαι has a similar focus. It occurs in Luke's story of the ten lepers who were cleansed (ἐκαθαρίσθησαν).[76] One of them, a Samaritan, seeing that he was healed (ἰδὼν ὅτι ἰάθη), returned to thank Jesus, praising God. Thus ἰάθη describes the man's perception of himself. This story closely parallels Luke's story of the haemorrhaging woman, who has the same perception of herself (8.47), and to whom Jesus is reported as making the same comment: "Your faith has saved you (ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε)."[77] Both these people, the woman and the leper, would have been isolated from full participation in their communities because of their physical ailments. Both were ritually "unclean". Both suffered further social disabilities through no fault of their own: one on the basis of sex, the other of race. Thus Luke's language makes it clear that Jesus' primary healing activity was holistic, restoring people to the fullest possible participation in their spiritual communities.[78]

Luke, like Matthew, also uses ἰάομαι in the speech of the centurion who asks Jesus:

> "But say the word, and let my boy be healed (ἀλλὰ εἰπὲ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήτω ὁ παῖς μου)!"[79]

Earlier he had asked that Jesus might come and save (διασώσῃ) his slave.[80] There is a significant manuscript variation, citing the Matthaean ἰαθήσεται here.[81] It is notable that both variations occur in the 3rd person passive,

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76 Lk 17.11-19

77 Lk 8.48; 17.19

78 It is perhaps worth noting that Luke does not use θεραπεύω in the story of the Samaritan leper (or, for that matter, in the parable of the good Samaritan).

79 Lk 7.7. The aorist passive imperative 3rd person singular, ἰαθήτω, occurs only here in the New Testament (see App. 8:4).

80 Lk 7.3

81 See Metzger (1975) 142.

both synoptists preferring the passive voice to describe an *in absentia* healing. Luke sums up the boy's return to health as ὑγιαίνοντα.[82]

The synoptic authors also use cognate forms of ἰάομαι, especially the noun ἰατρός. Forms of ἰατρός, the Greek word for "doctor/physician", occur seven times in the New Testament, six times in the synoptic gospels,[83] and once in *Colossians*.[84]

The genitive singular ἰατροῦ occurs three times, once each in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, in parallel sayings of Jesus.[85] In each case Jesus is replying to a question of the Pharisees (Matthew), the scribes of the Pharisees (Mark), the Pharisees and their scribes (Luke), concerning his choice of those with whom he shared table-fellowship. Mark, and Matthew both report Jesus as saying:

> "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are ill (οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες[86])."

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82 Lk 7.10. Cf. *IG* IV^2 1, 122: 21 (App. 2:2, **21**), where Arata of Lacedaemon, after visiting the asklepieion at Epidauros on behalf of her daughter, returned home to find her daughter ὑγιαίνουσαν. Cf. also Lk 15.27, where a slave tells of a father's joy because his estranged son returned home ὑγιαίνοντα. Cf. also Tobit 6.9 (ℵ) andTobit 12.3 (ℵ). See App. 6:1, **53**, **54**.

83 Mt 9.12; Mk 2.17, 5.26; Lk 4.23, 5.31, 8.43 (see App. 8:3). The genitive plural ἰατρῶν (Mark 5.26) and the dative plural ἰατροῖς (Luke 8.43) of the noun ἰατρός occur in parallel accounts of the story of the haemorrhaging woman (Mark 5.21-43; Luke 8.40-56). This story has already been discussed at length, (see above, 164-5, 175) but it is important to note here that Matthew omits any reference to doctors in his account (9.18-26), in contrast to Mark, who tells us that "she had suffered much under many physicians (καὶ πολλὰ παθοῦσα ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἰατρῶν), and had spent all that she had" (5.26). Luke omits the reference to her suffering at the hands of physicians, but states (in a disputed text) that she had spent all her living upon them. (Metzger (1975) 145, states that the evidence for the shorter text is "well-nigh compelling". But the language of the longer text looks remarkably Lukan. Accordingly, I have included ἰατροῖς in the incidence of forms, but will not discuss it at length, as it does look "like a digest of Mk 5.26.") Mark's choice of πάσχω emphasises the woman's sufferings (cf. Mt 17.15, the only use of this word in a healing context in Matthew's gospel [see above, 152-5]), and emphasises the contrast in his portrait of Jesus as a physician with other physicians.

84 In the phrase Λουκᾶς ὁ ἰατρός, at Colossians 4.14. The author not only designates Luke as ἰατρὸς, he also designates him as ἀγαπητὸς, thus measuring his esteem for Luke, as well as identifying him by his profession. It has been widely assumed that this Luke is the author of *Luke-Acts*, an assumption of which I am not altogether convinced. However, the question of authorship is outside the scope of this study.

85 Mk 2.17 = Mt 9.12 = Lk 5.31

86 ἔχω κακῶς does not always mean "feeling poorly" in a physical sense only: it can apply to mental and emotional distress as well. Here the present participle implies the notion of the duration of time. These people are in an on-going state of "feeling poorly", whether physically, emotionally, mentally, or spiritually.

while Luke substitutes ὑγιαίνοντες for ἰσχύοντες, a word that implies holistic health rather than just physical well-being.[87] Luke has several other differences, but, overall, he reflects Mark more faithfully than Matthew in this story, inserting slivers rather than chunks.[88] Matthew adds material, amongst which is a quotation from the Septuagint.[89] He refers to this quotation again (12.7), in the context of another Pharisaic controversy.[90] Luke's differences are important however: where Mark says that Levi rose and followed Jesus, Luke adds that *he left everything,* and rose and followed him. Mark does not describe the food, but Luke tells us that Levi made him *a great feast.* Perhaps Luke's most important addition is that of εἰς μετάνοιαν to Mark's and Matthew's version of Jesus' final saying:

> "I have not come to call the righteous but sinners (οὐ γὰρ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς)"[91]

so that Jesus' final saying on the question of his companions is

> "I have not come to call the righteous but sinners (literally: those who have missed the mark) to repentance (literally: a change in thinking; i.e. a going back [to God][92] (οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν)."[93]

Thus Jesus' concept of his work as a physician is couched in purely spiritual terms: he states his mission as an intention to change a person's way of life, by changing that person's attitude to life itself. Thus a change

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87 Cadbury (1969) 183 states that ὑγιαίνοντες is "a good Greek word", replacing what he calls "perhaps another Latinism in Mark's use of ἰσχύω = *valeo.*" But ἰσχύω has a long history in the "best" Greek literature meaning *bodily strength,* see: Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 234; Sophocles, *Ajax* 502; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 6.1.24: ὅπως ὑγιαίνοιεν καὶ ἰσχύοιεν, where ἰσχύω is used of bodily strength, and ὑγιαίνω in a more holistic sense; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.7.7; Aristophanes, *Vespae* 357; meaning *to be powerful, to prevail,* see: Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus* 510; Euripides, *Hecuba* 1188; Aristophanes, *Aves* 1607.

88 Cf. Mt 9.9-13; Mk 2.13-17; Lk 5.27-32

89 Hosea 6.6

90 See App. 7:7. For a discussion of the significance of this quotation, see Beare (1981) 227-8.

91 Mk 2.17; Mt 9.13

92 The Greek verb μετανοέω and its cognate forms are generally used in the New Testament as the equivalent of the Hebrew *shûb,* which means to *turn back* or *return* (to God). See Cranfield (1959) 43-6.

93 Lk 5.32

in thinking is to produce a new way of living. Now, it has been noted by scholars that while gospel authors may change the context and interpretation of Jesus' sayings, there is surprising agreement between them on the actual words that Jesus is supposed to have said,[94] which makes Luke's addition here all the more important. While the English word "repentance" contains the negative connotations of misgiving and regret, Luke seems to be also stressing a looking forward, anticipation as well as regret. It is a statement of challenge that looks forward to a positive change, a change that Jesus hopes to bring about in the lives of those people who have been alienated from God.

The vocative Ἰατρέ occurs only once in the New Testament, in Luke's gospel (4.23) out of the mouth of Jesus, in reference to himself. This saying has already been discussed at length.[95] It is obvious that Luke wished to portray Jesus as a spiritual physician.

All three occurrences of the noun ἴασις in the New Testament are Lukan, one appearing in his gospel,[96] and two in *Acts*.[97] The gospel usage occurs in a Lukan saying of Jesus, in answer to the Pharisees' warning to him that Herod wanted to kill him. Luke is far more interested than the other synoptists in recounting Jesus' relationship with the Pharisees.[98] Here, their warning to Jesus is recounted only by Luke, as is Jesus' reply:

> "Go and tell that fox, 'Behold, I cast out demons and bring healings to completion (ἰάσεις ἀποτελῶ) today and tomorrow, and on the third day I finish my course....'"

It is appropriate that Luke chooses the present tense for all three verbs (ἐκβάλλω, ἀποτελῶ, τελειοῦμαι), and that this passage occurs in a teaching passage,[99] between the sabbath healings of the bent woman,[100] and the

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94 See Cadbury (1933) 416; (1958) 188; Wilcox (1975) 209.

95 See above, 155-7.

96 Lk 13.32

97 Acts 4.22, 4.30

98 In Luke's gospel Jesus appears to know many Pharisees well, and to be on good terms with them. He is often in their homes, as a guest (7.36-50; 11.37-12.3; 14.1-6). Luke includes the same controversial issues as Matthew and Mark, but places their final issue (the great commandment) as a central issue in his work, and includes his own special material. See App. 7:7.

99 Lk 13.22-35

100 Lk 13.10-17

man with dropsy,[101] both sabbath healings peculiar to Luke. Again Luke focuses on the effect of Jesus' teaching: healing. Again healing is inextricably bound up with Jesus' message.

In *Acts*, the genitive singular ἰάσεως of the noun ἴασις occurs as the summing up - this sign of healing (τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως) - of the first healing episode recorded in *Acts*.[102] The actual account is described in clinical language: πιάζω is used to describe Peter's grip on the man; στερεόω to describe the state of his feet and ankles, after Peter had spoken to and touched him.[103] His condition is given in the terms of a clinical case history: he was over forty,[104] and had been lame from birth.[105] Immediately he was able to jump up (ἐξάλλομαι), and walk about (περιπατέω).[106] Peter describes him as being in perfect health (τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν),[107] and as "saved" (σέσωται).[108] The Pharisees (4.14) see him as the man who had been treated/healed (τὸν τεθεραπευμένον), the Pharisaic word for healing.[109]

Luke's final use of ἴασις occurs in the same chapter of *Acts*[110] in a corporate prayer that describes the place and function of Jesus in the history of creation.[111] Again the the "word" and healing are linked:

> "grant to thy servants *to speak thy word* (λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου) with all boldness, *while thou stretchest out thy hand to heal* (ἐν τῷ τὴν χεῖρά [σου] ἐκτείνειν σε εἰς ἴασιν), and signs and wonders are performed through the name of thy holy servant Jesus (καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ)."[112]

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101 Lk 14.1-6
102 Acts 3.1-4.31 (see above, 157-8; and Apps 8:1, 8:3).
103 Acts 3.7
104 Acts 4.22
105 Acts 3.2
106 Acts 3.8
107 Acts 3.16
108 Acts 4.9
109 Acts 4.14. See above, 157-8. Luke does not explicitly state that this healing was performed on the sabbath, but perhaps the fact that "Peter and John were going up to the temple at the hour of prayer, the ninth hour" implies this.
110 Acts 4.30
111 Acts 4.24-30
112 Acts 4.29-30. Cf. Aelius Aristides (App. 5:6, 15) where Asklepios stretched forth his hand to save people in a storm at sea.

Thus, as the message (word) of Jesus was linked with θεραπεύω in a Jewish context in *Matthew*, and with ἰάομαι to describe the intervention of God in gentile healings in his gospel, so Luke links the "word" (τὸν λόγον) with "healing" (ἴασιν) and "signs and wonders" (σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα) in an account dedicated to a gentile reader.[113]

John

It is perhaps appropriate that we move from "signs and wonders" in *Acts* to a consideration of the use of ἰάομαι in the gospel of John. John chooses to use ἰάομαι three times in his gospel, in two healing stories,[114] and in a quotation from the Septuagint.[115] The third person singular aorist subjunctive of ἰάομαι occurs only once in the New Testament, in John's account of the reported speech of the official (βασιλικός) who asked Jesus to heal his son (καὶ ἠρώτα ἵνα καταβῇ καὶ ἰάσηται αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν).[116] This is the first healing reported in *John*, and the second sign (σημεῖον).[117] It appears at the end of a 'gentile' chapter: after the story of the Samaritan woman at the well, Jesus' declaration of identity,[118] and the belief of the Samaritans. The boy's fever left him at the seventh hour,[119] the hour at which the father spoke to Jesus. It is an *in absentia* instantaneous healing - Jesus does not touch the patient, or the father.[120] It is instructive to compare John's treatment of this story with Matthew's and Luke's treatment of the same story.[121] In John's account the man requesting Jesus' help is a βασιλικός, in both *Matthew* and *Luke* he is a ἑκατόνταρχος; in *John* the patient is the man's υἱός, in *Matthew* his παῖς, and in *Luke* his δοῦλος (although Luke later designates him a παῖς).[122]

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113 Lk 1.1-4; Acts 1.1

114 Jn 4.46-54; 5.1-15 (see Apps 8:3, 9:1).

115 Jn 12.40 (cf. Mt 13.15; Acts 28.27; Isaiah 6.10 [App. 6:1, 62]).

116 Jn 4.47. Cf. Mt 8.5-13; Lk 7.1-10

117 John uses ring composition to record his selection of healing miracles. There are five healings: four specific and one general. The general episode occurs in the middle (6.2). The first (4.46-54) and last (11.1-57) specific episodes both deal with death, and are in response to a family request, made in faith. The second (5.1-15) and fourth (9.1-41) specific healings are both of patients chosen by Jesus, on the sabbath, and are highly symbolic. Both represent spiritual ignorance. See App. 9:1.

118 Jn 4.26

119 The number seven has symbolic significance for John. For a discussion of the importance of particular numbers, see Hawkins (1909) 163-7.

120 See Robinson (1985) 69, n.158, for an interesting discussion concerning the identity of the father.

121 Is this story from a 'Q' source?

122 Lk 7.7 (see above, 176).

The boy's condition in *John* is ἠσθένει, in *Matthew* παραλυτικός, δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος, in *Luke* κακῶς ἔχων ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν. In *John* the man asks that Jesus ἰάσηται his son, in *Luke* that he διασώσῃ his slave. In *Matthew* Jesus says θεραπεύσω in reply, in *Luke* he doesn't say anything but goes with him, while in *John* Jesus says "Unless you see signs and wonders you will not believe"! In *Matthew* and *Luke* the man tells Jesus to say the word, and the boy will be healed (Matthew: ἰαθήσεται; Luke: ἰαθήτω, but some manuscripts cite ἰαθήσεται), which allows Jesus to comment on the man's faith, faith he had not found in Israel. Matthew chooses the passive aorist of ἰάομαι to describe the boy's recovered state, whereas Luke uses the present participle of ὑγιαίνω. In John's account Jesus uses the verb ζάω to describe the boy's return to health, and John comments that the man and his whole household believed (ἐπίστευσεν αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ὅλη).[123] In this way John stresses the consequence of the healing: i.e. group conversion. The language used by each author reflects a deliberate choice. As we have already noticed, Matthew reserves the verb ἰάομαι to describe only gentile healings, Mark the self-perception of an 'unclean' woman, while Luke is fond of the word, and John uses it in conjunction with other words like ζάω, θεραπεύω, and ὑγιής to convey an impression of holistic healing.[124]

John also uses ἰάομαι in his account of the healing of the man who was by the Beth-zatha pool, in Jerusalem, on the sabbath.[125] John uses both θεραπεύω (5.10) and ἰάομαι (5.13) to describe the man in his narrative, both in the passive voice, while in direct speech Jesus uses ὑγιής (5.6), as does the man himself in reported speech (5.15). This healing is highly symbolic and John has chosen all three healing words to encompass the spiritual, emotional, mental and physical aspects of this man's "cure".[126]

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123 Jn 4.53. Cf. the stories in *Acts* (9.36-43; 20.7-12) where the participial form of ζάω is chosen to describe the revived condition of both Dorcas and Eutychus (see App. 8:1). The result of the healing of Dorcas had the same effect: many believed (Acts 9.42).

124 Thus although John does choose to use ἰάομαι, there is not the same indication of the gentile-Jewish controversy in John's account, that is evident in *Matthew*.

125 The aorist passive participle (nominative singular masculine) ἰαθείς, occurs only once in the New Testament, in John's gospel (5.13), as a description of this man (see App. 9:1, 8:4).

126 On the basis of the language it is tempting to conclude that the man might be symbolic of Israel: he had been ill for thirty-eight years, the same time as the people of Israel wandered in the wilderness.

The use of ἰάομαι in the epistles of the New Testament

The verb ἰάομαι only occurs in three other New Testament texts: *Hebrews, 1 Peter,* and *James;* and, on each occasion, in a form not used by any other New Testament authors.[127]

Hebrews

In *Hebrews* the verb appears in a passage extolling the benefits of God's discipline.[128] Here the author of *Hebrews* is definitely referring to spiritual healing:

> "Therefore lift your drooping hands and strengthen your weak knees, and make straight paths for your feet, so that what is lame may not be put out of joint, but rather be healed (ἵνα μὴ τὸ χωλὸν ἐκτραπῇ, ἰαθῇ δὲ μᾶλλον)".[129]

This is typical of the use of healing words by New Testament authors other than the gospel authors. As the early Christian movement focused on Christian behaviour and church doctrine, so the healing vocabulary came more and more to refer to spiritual health which was the result of right doctrine.[130]

1 Peter

In *1 Peter* the verb appears in the author's call to the Jewish exiles of the Dispersion to be submissive, even as Christ was.[131] He argues that "by his wounds you have been healed (οὗ τῷ μώλωπι ἰάθητε)". As at *Hebrews* 12.13 this use of ἰάομαι refers to spiritual healing, and appears in the context of teaching about correct Christian conduct.

James

In *James* ἰάομαι occurs in a passage giving advice as to procedure in the case of suffering (κακοπαθεῖ), for which the author advocates prayer; happiness (εὐθυμεῖ), for which he advocates praise; and infirmity (ἀσθενεῖ), for which he advocates prayer by church elders and anointing with oil in the name of the Lord.[132] James stresses the role of the prayer of faith,

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127 See Apps 8:3 and 8:4.

128 Hebrews 12.13: the aorist passive subjunctive 3rd person singular ἰαθῇ (see App. 8:4).

129 Hebrews 12.12-13

130 See Apps 8:3 and 9:2.

131 1 Peter 2.24: the aorist passive indicative 2nd person plural, ἰάθητε (see App 8:4).

132 James 5.16: the aorist passive subjunctive 2nd person plural, ἰαθῆτε, (see App. 8:4). See above, 137-8, for a discussion of the therapeutic use of oil in the ancient world.

which, he says, will save (σώσει) the sick man (τὸν κάμνοντα)[133] whom the Lord will raise up (ἐγερεῖ). James also stresses the spiritual nature of this healing, saying that if the weak person has committed sins he will be forgiven. So the instruction is:

> "to pray for one another, that you may be healed (ὅπως ἰαθῆτε), [for] the prayer of a righteous man (δικαίου) has great power in its effects".[134]

However, it would be incorrect to assume that James is speaking primarily of physical weakness here, as he designates the illness as ἀσθενεῖ, a word used by the gospel authors most frequently to denote those who were healed in general healing episodes in a teaching context by hearing the message of Jesus, i.e. by conversion.[135] James is writing to Jews of the Dispersion (1.1), Jews scattered throughout the Graeco-Roman world, so it is appropriate that he, like Luke, should use the more common Greek medical verb ἰάομαι to describe healing.[136] However, like Luke, he too uses it with a spiritual dimension in its meaning. James is also anxious to establish rules for correct Christian procedure in certain circumstances, so, again, this is an example of the Christian use of healing language to promote behaviour that the author thought to be theologically correct.

1 Corinthians

The cognate form of ἰάομαι, ἴαμα also appears three times in *1 Corinthians*.[137] In each case ἴαμα refers to the spiritual gifts of healing (χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων), in this chapter entirely devoted to an exposition of

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133 The use of κάμνω, among other things, is cited as an example of the superior use of Greek by the author of *James*. See Davids (1982) 58, who claims that "the writer of the epistle is an able master of literary Koine." Dibelius (1981) 252 interprets this whole procedure as an exorcism. Davids (1982) 194 disagrees. He states that it is "not a magical rite, nor an exorcism". Dibelius (1981) 252 also states that the use of oil was a remedy from folk medicine. He draws a parallel with the use of oil by the disciples at Mark 6.13. However, as we have seen (above, 137-8), oil was used in Hippokratic medicine. See App. 4:1, 13.

134 James 5.16. Cf. the Babylonian Talmud (Berakhoth 34b) *re* the Jewish *ḥasid* Hanina ben Dosa (for a discussion see Vermes [1983] 72-6); and Marinos, *Vita Procli* 29 (above, 62-3) for similar ideas about the effectiveness of the prayer of the righteous man.

135 Particularly Luke (see above, 148).

136 James is also expecting prayer to effect the intervention of God here, so ἰάομαι reflects its use in Asklepiadic literature.

137 1 Corinthians 12. 9, 28, 30: in the genitive plural ἰαμάτων, (see App. 8:3).

spiritual gifts, and their place and function within the Christian community.

What then does the verb ἰάομαι mean in the New Testament? Has any pattern of usage emerged, or do different authors use the verb in completely different ways? Are we now in a better position to comment on the meaning of ἰάομαι?

A study of the use of ἰάομαι has established that:
(i) Each synoptist uses ἰάομαι in different ways. Both Mark and Matthew use it rarely, and then only in the passive voice to signify the intervention of God.[138] Mark only uses it once, for a woman's self-perception,[139] while Matthew reserves it for accounts of instantaneous *in absentia* gentile healings, performed as a result of parental requests made in faith.[140] In contrast, Luke is fond of the verb, and uses it contiguously with θεραπεύω in healing accounts, in both the middle and passive voice.[141] Luke invests ἰάομαι with a spiritual dimension, using ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω in close proximity to each other, while faithfully reserving θεραπεύω for Jewish thought and conversation, and as the subject of Pharisaic controversy. Thus audience is critical for Luke (as for Matthew), and this becomes most obvious in their different uses and selection of ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω.
(ii) John uses ἰάομαι sparingly in healing accounts,[142] preferring a range of healing words that are holistic in effect, and which emphasise the symbolic nature of his healing stories.
(iii) Other New Testament authors use the verb in a teaching context, referring to right doctrine, or correct Christian practice.[143]

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138 Reflecting the use and meaning of ἰάομαι in both Asklepiadic literature (see Part One) and the Septuagint (see App. 6:1). In this way both Mark and Matthew justify the healings they describe in this way (Mark: an 'unclean' woman; Matthew: gentiles) by appealing to a higher power. There is in their use of ἰάομαι a clue as to the identity of their readers: Matthew's audience must be of Jewish origin. (Dare one posit a predominantly male audience for Mark?)
139 Mk 5.29 (see App. 8:3).
140 Mt 8.8, 8.13, 15.28 (see App. 8:3).
141 That Luke feels constrained to use both verbs contiguously so consistently, points to a difference in meaning for different readers, and thus implies an audience of differing cultural and social origins.
142 Jn 4.47, 5.13
143 Hebrews 12.13; 1 Peter 2.24; James 5.16

How then does our understanding of the use of the verbs ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω affect our understanding of the New Testament portrayal of Jesus' healing ministry?

Conclusion

An analysis and comparison of the usage of θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι has established:

1. The priority of Mark's gospel.[144]

2. That Matthew wrote for a primarily Jewish audience,[145] and Luke for a gentile audience that included Jewish people.[146]

3. That Luke had an intense interest in Pharisaic issues. While all three synoptists portray Jesus as spending leisure time in Pharisaic houses, discussing points of law, Luke focuses on Pharisaic issues and Pharisaic companionship more than Mark, or Matthew.[147] However, all four gospel authors agree in portraying Jews (including Jesus), and particularly Pharisees, as using the verb θεραπεύω to denote sabbath healing.[148] From this it would appear that Jesus himself was a Pharisee, a Pharisee that had discovered a new way of thinking, a way of thinking that contradicted contemporary Pharisaic thought and practice.[149] Hence the gospel interest in and portrayal of Pharisaic opposition to Jesus' ministry.

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144 That Mark is prior to Matthew is obvious from their healing language; and that Mark is prior to both Matthew and Luke is also obvious from their selection and treatment of controversial Pharisaic issues (see App. 7:7).

145 See above, 165-8, for a discussion of Matthew's use of ἰάομαι to describe the intervention of God in gentile healings.

146 See especially Luke's use of the verb ἰάομαι.

147 See App. 7:7. This may be either because of his association with Paul, an ex-Pharisee, or it may indicate that he was especially anxious to explain Jesus' departure from accepted Pharisaic law.

148 See above, 154-60. (But cf. John 9.1-41)

149 Wilcox(1982) 131-195 argues that Jesus was a Pharisee, and concludes (185) that "No other known movement in First Century Judaism provides us with as close a 'fit' to Jesus and his movement as does Pharisaism, and the tension between him and the Pharisees thus probably arises out of his very nearness to them, its intensity reflecting the fact that he was viewed as representing one strand - a non-conforming one - within it. This enables us to make sense of the motif of Pharisees 'testing' or 'observing' Jesus or his disciples: his teaching and practice - or theirs - is under scrutiny to see whether or not it is in conformity with expected Pharisaic guidelines in such matters. Thus the questions in the main concern table-fellowship, Sabbath-keeping, purity, and other points of law. He is not an *'am ha-'aretz*, who is careless about the rules, but resembles rather a ḥasid, a pious man whose emphasis in matters of *halakhah* is more stringent in duty to fellow man and less so

4. That θεραπεύω does not primarily denote physical healing, but is primarily a spiritual term denoting spiritual healing, while including the holistic effects of mental, emotional and physical health. Indeed θεραπεύω often describes conversion (i.e. a change in thinking), especially in general healing episodes describing crowd events. Conversion involves active participation in and experience of the kingdom of God, inclusion in the spiritual community. It is the active response of teaching and preaching (ἀκούω), the active effect of διδάσκω, which involves saving service (ἐργάζομαι). Thus θεραπεύω provides a practical meaning for Jesus' command to love one another. In this sense the aspect of θεραπεύω is continuous.

5. That Luke introduces ἰάομαι in conjunction with θεραπεύω, and substitutes it for θεραπεύω in gentile settings, because the word is more intelligible to his gentile audience. As we have seen in Part One, θεραπεύω in a medical context refers to medical treatment in the Greek world (i.e. nursing care), and in a teaching/oratorical context it implies persuasion. It seems that Luke didn't want to dispense with either the notion of 'nurture' or 'persuasion' implicit in θεραπεύω. However he did want to introduce a word that could imply both a 'cure' and 'divine intervention' in its meaning. As we have seen in Part One, both notions are present in the Greek world for ἰάομαι. So Luke chooses to use both word groups contiguously. Thus audience has a great effect on the gospel message.

6. That to translate both words as "heal" is misleading, as, in our modern secular society, readers understand this term in a purely physical sense, a sense not intended by the New Testament authors.

But what of other important terms that appear in healing stories? Does their use shed any light on the meaning and purpose of Jesus' healing ministry?

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in questions of 'purity' and table-fellowship than is the case with acceptable Pharisaic norms. His healing and other miracle-working activities fit the same pattern...." Wilcox reaches this conclusion by studying Jesus in the light of his Jewish environment. A study of the gospel depiction of the Pharisaic use of θεραπεύω and Pharisaic disputes supports his conclusion.

Chapter Nine

Other New Testament healing words: σῴζω καθαίρω ἅπτομαι ὑγιαίνω

There are several other general healing terms that appear in the New Testament language of healing and, of these, ὑγιαίνω and σῴζω are the most important. Forms of the ὑγιαίνω ὑγιής family of words occur twenty-two times in the New Testament,[1] while forms of διασῴζω σῴζω also occur twenty-two times in healing stories.[2] As well, a study of the synoptic use of καθαίρω[3] and ἅπτομαι[4] in healing stories reveals much about the reporting method of each synoptist, and about Jesus' healing methods. Thus each word group will be considered in turn. It is to a consideration of the διασῴζω σῴζω family of words that we shall turn first, and, as with θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι, we shall consider the synoptic use of this word group as it appears in general and specific healing episodes.

διασῴζω σῴζω in general healing episodes

This verb group appears twice, in parallel synoptic episodes, in the passive voice. The third person plural imperfect passive indicative ἐσῴζοντο occurs only once in a healing context in the New Testament. It is, not surprisingly,[5] in Mark's gospel (6.56), and occurs in an account of general healing episodes in the region of Gennesaret. Mark reports that the people there began bringing sick people (τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ... τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας) to any place where they heard Jesus was (villages, cities, or country), and they asked him whether they might touch the hem of his cloak (ἵνα κἂν τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ἅψωνται). And as many as touched him were healed on each occasion (καὶ ὅσοι ἂν ἥψαντο αὐτοῦ ἐσῴζοντο). Mark's choice of the imperfect tense, implying continuous action over a period of time, is supported by his description of Jesus'

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1 See App. 9:2.

2 Forms of these verbs have been restricted to healing stories that appear to have a physical element, as this family of "salvation" words appears so often in the New Testament, in differing contexts. See Apps 7:10 and 7:11. The twenty-two cited are: Mt 9.21, 9.22, 9.22, 14.36; Mk 3.4, 5.23, 5.28, 5.34, 6.56, 10.52; Lk 6.9, 7.3, 8.36, 8.48, 8.50, 17.19, 18.42; Jn 11.12; Acts 4.9, 4.12, 14.9; James 5.15. Also relevant are Acts 4.12 (σωτηρία); Acts 16.17 (ὁδὸν σωτηρίας); Acts 16.30 (σωθῶ); Acts 16.31 (σωθήσῃ); and Acts 28.28 (τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ) because they appear in close proximity to healing stories (or language).

3 See App. 7:13, "Other".

4 See Apps 7:12 and 7:13.

5 See above, 136-9, for a discussion of Mark's use of the imperfect tense.

movements. Mark links σῴζω with ἅπτομαι. Matthew has a similar story (14.36). Luke does not use this verb in a general healing episode,[6] and this is the only general healing episode in *Mark*[7] that does not include a form of θεραπεύω. We are not told what specific weaknesses the people suffered, only the very vague τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ... τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας. In all other healings in *Mark* where σῴζω occurs we are told the physical nature of the problem,[8] whereas here the description of the ailments is so vague and generalised that it is impossible to determine anything other than that a positive result occurred in the lives of those who reached out and touched (ἥψαντο) Jesus.

Matthew chooses the aorist passive indicative to report the general healing episode at Gennesaret.[9] In his account the men of the region brought all those feeling poorly (πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας) to Jesus. Again σῴζω is linked with ἅπτομαι:

> "They began asking him if they might only touch the hem of his cloak (καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα μόνον ἅψωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ), and as many as touched (it) were healed (καὶ ὅσοι ἥψαντο διεσώθησαν)."

As in *Mark*, the passive voice of the verb is chosen, although (typically) Matthew has chosen the aorist tense, signifying a single completed action. As in *Mark*, this is the only general healing episode in *Matthew* that does not include a form of θεραπεύω, but includes forms of ἅπτομαι. When the people "reach out" in faith they are "healed".

διασῴζω σῴζω in specific healing episodes

An interesting feature of the use of this word group is that Jesus is portrayed as the only person to use σῴζω in direct speech in specific

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6 Hobart (1882) 8-9 compares these passages with Luke 6.19, an important general healing episode discussed above (149, 168-9). He states (9) that "Luke uses a term strictly medical (i.e. ἰᾶτο), the other writers one less precise". However, we have seen that Luke uses ἰάομαι in a holistic sense, but with a spiritual emphasis (see chapter eight), especially in crowd scenes. Mark and Matthew may be doing the same thing here with διασῴζω and σῴζω.

7 Matthew's parallel account, at 14.36, is also the only general healing episode in *Matthew* that does not include a form of θεραπεύω. Neither passage mentions teaching, and perhaps this is why θεραπεύω does not appear. The choice of σῴζω in the passive voice implies the intervention of God.

8 A withered hand (3.4); Jairus' daughter: dying (5.23); the haemorrhaging woman (5.28, 34); and blind Bartimaeus (10.52).

9 The only occurrence of this form: διεσώθησαν, in the NT. Cf. Mk 6.56. See App. 7:11.

healing episodes.[10] Jesus uses σῴζω when discussing the legality of healing on the Sabbath with the Pharisees, and in the healing of the haemorrhaging woman, a blind man, and in the Lukan story of the ten lepers.

Both occurrences of the aorist active infinitive of σῴζω in New Testament healing stories come out of Jesus' mouth in the parallel accounts of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand.[11] While all three synoptists preserve this story,[12] only Luke retains Mark's form of σῴζω in the question that Jesus puts to the Pharisees,[13] while choosing to make other substitutions. In *Mark*, Jesus asks whether it is lawful on the sabbath to do good or to do harm (ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι), to save life or to kill (ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀποκτεῖναι). Luke "improves" Mark's Greek by framing Jesus' question thus: ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι, while Matthew prefers to give an illustration of "saving" life, rather than retaining the question in these words.[14] The use of σῴζω is significant. Jesus equates this healing with "saving" life.[15] Since Pharisaic law did allow the sabbath to be broken where there was a "threat to life"[16] Jesus' question is a quite legitimate example of Pharisees engaging in disputes concerning matters of *halakhah*.[17] But what did Jesus mean by his question? The man was not in danger of dying, in a physical sense. However Jesus obviously felt that his life was threatened in some way. Certainly a physical disability of this nature would prevent

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10 However the verb does appear in indirect speech in the active voice. The active aorist subjunctive third person singular of διασῴζω occurs only once in a healing context, in the reported speech of Jewish elders, in Luke's account of the healing of the centurion's servant. Matthew (8.5-13) does not use διασῴζω in this story, while John (4.47) chooses ἰάσηται. Luke makes Jesus comment on the centurion's faith (πίστιν 7.9), and then (7.10) chooses ὑγιαίνοντα to describe the servant's condition when the centurion returns home (cf. *IG* IV^2 1, 122, 21 [App. 2:2, 21]). See App. 7:11, διασώσῃ.

11 Mk 3.4; Lk 6.9 (see App. 7:10; and App. 7:11, σῶσαι).

12 Mk 3.1-6; Lk 6.6-11; Mt 12.9-14

13 In *Mark* Jesus puts the question to the Pharisees; in *Luke* he puts it to the Pharisees and scribes.

14 Mt 12.11-12

15 But note that the word for 'life' is ψυχή.

16 See Wilcox (1982) 176-7, and n.247, for a discussion of this issue. Cf. Hull (1974) 1, who claims that: "The Jewish objection to the healings on the sabbath was ... not the sabbath activity itself but the magical techniques used by Jesus." However the language used by the gospel authors would seem to question this interpretation. See above, 158-60, on the link between θεραπεύω and ἐργάζομαι.

17 However, all three synoptic authors record that the Pharisees thought of this sabbath healing in terms of θεραπεύω. See above, chapter seven.

the man from leading a normal life, it would also exclude him from full participation in the religious life of his community.[18] So, in restoring the man's hand, Jesus was not only physically healing the man, he was giving him the opportunity for full spiritual participation in his community. Thus, in this way, σῴζω as it is used here is holistic in meaning.

On other occasions when Jesus uses the verb σῴζω in healing stories, he does so in the active perfect tense.[19] This form appears six times in New Testament healing stories, in all three synoptic gospels. On all occasions it comes out of the mouth of Jesus to a person who has been healed in the saying "Your faith has saved you (ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε)." It occurs in all three synoptic accounts of the healing of the haemorrhaging woman.[20] As well, all three synoptists choose the verb ἅπτομαι to describe the woman's touch, a verb that is often chosen to describe the touch of those who reach out in faith,[21] and is linked with σῴζω.

The second parallel account that features this saying is the account of the healing of the blind man near Jericho.[22] Both Mark and Luke state that discipleship is the result of this man's healing, Mark stating: "and immediately he saw, and began following him on the way (καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέβλεψεν, καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ (10.52))", while Luke (καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν, καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ) adds: "praising God. And all the people, when they saw it, gave praise to God (δοξάζων τὸν θεόν. καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ (18.43))". Mark gives the blind man's name as Bartimaeus, in contrast to Luke, who makes him an anonymous beggar. This seems an unusual practice for Luke, if we assume that he was working from Mark's account.[23] In other places Luke provides precise personal details.[24] This is the only specific Lukan account of the healing

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18 See Leviticus 13.46

19 The active perfect indicative third person singular σέσωκεν: see App. 7:11.

20 Mt 9.22; Mk 5.34; Lk 8.48

21 See below, 192f.

22 Mk 10.52; Lk 18.42; cf. Mt 20.29-34

23 So some have thought that the name was added to Mark's account after Luke made use of it (see Sanders and Davies [1989] 172).

24 For example, the names of Mary, Joanna, and Susanna (8.2-3) in a passage peculiar to Luke. He also retains the identities of Peter's mother-in-law (4.38-39), and Jairus (8.40-42); and in *Acts* names Aeneas (9.32-35), Dorcas (9.36-43), Eutychus (20.7-12), and Publius' father (28.7-9) and, of course, Saul (9.1-22), in his twelve healing episodes; and carefully identifies each of the seven victims of punishment in *Acts* either by name or parentage,

of blindness, apart from that of Paul in *Acts*.[25] Both accounts are conversion accounts and result in active discipleship: the blind man follows Jesus, praising God, and all those nearby also praise God; Paul began preaching (ἐκήρυσσεν (9.20)) and converting others. Thus physical blindness in Lukan writings is used as a motif denoting spiritual blindness. Certainly the use of σῴζω in both synoptic accounts invests this healing with a spiritual dimension. Matthew records a similar episode which also includes discipleship as the result,[26] but Matthew features two blind men.[27] He also omits Jesus' saying, and therefore σῴζω, but includes ἅπτομαι to describe Jesus' touch.[28]

The third episode in which this saying of Jesus appears occurs in a story peculiar to Luke (17.11-19). On the way to Jerusalem, between Samaria and Galilee, ten lepers asked Jesus to have mercy on them. All found they were cleansed when they followed Jesus' instructions to show themselves to the priests. One, a Samaritan, a foreigner (ἀλλογενής), returned to praise God and thank Jesus. Jesus told him his faith had "saved" him. This story links several words that appear frequently in healing stories: ἐλεάω,[29] καθαίρω,[30] ἰάομαι,[31] πίστις, and σῴζω.

The author of the epistle *James* also links ἰάομαι and πίστις with the verb σῴζω.[32] It appears in a passage in *James* giving advice as to procedure in the case of suffering. James advises prayer, for "the prayer of faith will save the man laid low[33] (ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα)". As in the gospel healing stories σῴζω is linked with πίστις.

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and gives their location, history, and occupation as well. (See Apps 7:3, 8:1 and 8:2) Thus it is curious that he would omit Bartimaeus' name, in a parallel account, supposedly based on *Mark*. The language used certainly presupposes a parallel account.

25 Acts 9.1-22. But see the general healing episode at Luke 7.21, and 147-8, above.

26 Mt 20.29-34

27 See Jeremias (1975) 86 f. where he discusses the tendency of the author of *Matthew* to heighten the element of miracle by exaggerating numbers cited in *Mark*.

28 Matthew also features ἅπτομαι in his other account of the healing of two blind men (9.27-31), an account thought to be a duplicate of this account (Mt 20.29-34). See Sanders and Davies (1989) 172.

29 The blind men also attract Jesus' attention with this word. See Mk 10.47; Lk 18.38; Mt 20.30.

30 See below, 199-203.

31 See above, chapter eight.

32 James 5.15: σώσει (see App. 7:11). The future active indicative third person singular of σῴζω only occurs once in a healing context.

33 The use of κάμνω, among other things, is cited as an example of the superior use of Greek by the author of *James*. See Davids (1982) 58, who claims that "the writer of the epistle

Several interesting patterns emerge from a study of the use of σῴζω in the active voice in New Testament healing stories.

1. σῴζω appears ten times in the active voice in a healing context. Of these ten, eight appear in direct speech, always out of the mouth of Jesus. Thus only Jesus uses σῴζω in direct speech in the active voice in a healing context.
2. Furthermore, where Jesus says "ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε", in each case, there is a strong spiritual emphasis. The blind men all "followed" Jesus, as soon as they could "see"; the haemorrhaging woman, and the leper, both having been excluded from full participation in their communities because of "uncleanness", were told to continue their life journey,[34] having been saved by faith. Thus σῴζω, like θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι, includes the notion of discipleship in its meaning.
3. σῴζω likes to appear in close proximity to a form of πίστις, and/or ἅπτομαι.

In the passive voice the verb σῴζω appears in differing forms in six specific healing episodes: the accounts of the haemorrhaging woman, the accounts of the healing of Jairus' daughter, and the raising of Lazarus; and the Lukan stories of the healing of the Gerasene demoniac, and of both the lame men in *Acts*.

σῴζω appears in two forms in the parallel accounts of the healing of the haemorrhaging woman: in the thought of the woman,[35] and as a concluding description of her healed state.[36] In both *Matthew* and *Mark*, healing (σωθήσομαι) is here thought of by the haemorrhaging woman as being conditional on her touching (ἅψωμαι) Jesus' cloak. Matthew also uses σῴζω to conclude his account of the healing of the haemorrhaging

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is an able master of literary Koine." Dibelius (1981) 252 interprets this whole procedure as an exorcism. Davids (1982) 194 disagrees. He states that it is "not a magical rite, nor an exorcism". Dibelius (1981) 252 also states that the use of oil was a remedy from folk medicine. He draws a parallel with the use of oil by the disciples at Mark 6.13. However, as we have seen (above, 137-8), oil was used in Hippokratic medicine (see App. 4:1, **13**). κάμνω appears frequently in the Hippokratic Corpus identifying those who were patients (see App. 4:1).

34 See above, 175, and App. 8:4: ἰάθη.

35 Twice in the first person future passive indicative of σῴζω in the parallel accounts of *Mark* (5.28) and *Matthew* (9.21). See App. 7:11, σωθήσομαι.

36 The third person singular aorist passive indicative ἐσώθη occurs as Matthew's final description of the woman (9.22); and also in the Lukan account of the healing of the Gerasene demoniac (8.36). See Apps 7:10 and 7:11.

woman: καὶ ἐσώθη ἡ γυνὴ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐκείνης. Indeed, Matthew uses a combination of forms of σῴζω, ἅπτομαι and πίστις in this story. Neither Mark nor Luke uses this form in their parallel accounts. It is significant that Matthew describes this healing, that of an "unclean" woman, with a passive verb, implying the intervention of God.[37]

σῴζω also appears in the accounts of the healing of Jairus' daughter, in both *Mark* and *Luke*, occurring in direct speech between Jairus and Jesus. In Mark's account, Jairus uses the verb in his request that Jesus come and lay hands on his daughter (ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῇς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῇ), in order that she might be healed and might live (ἵνα σωθῇ καὶ ζήσῃ).[38] Later, when he is told that his daughter has died, Jesus tells him: "Do not be afraid, only keep on believing (μὴ φοβοῦ, μόνον πίστευε (5.36))." Thus again πίστις is linked to σῴζω.[39] In Luke's parallel account of this story Luke expands Jesus' Markan saying to "Don't be afraid. Only believe, and she will be saved (μὴ φοβοῦ, μόνον πίστευσον, καὶ σωθήσεται)."[40]

Similarly, σωθήσεται comes out of the mouths of the disciples to Jesus, in the Johannine story of the raising of Lazarus (11.12), after Jesus had told the disciples that Lazarus was sleeping (εἰ κεκοίμηται σωθήσεται). Both stories deal with death/sleep, and both link a form of σῴζω with a form of πιστεύω. Indeed, John makes Jesus claim that he did not go to Lazarus earlier "in order that you (disciples) might believe (ἵνα πιστεύσητε (11.15))". John uses this story to stress Jesus' identity, and the link between belief and life:

> "Jesus said to her (Martha), 'I am the resurrection and the life (ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή); he who believes in me (ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ), though he die, yet shall he live (κἂν ἀποθάνῃ ζήσεται), and whoever lives and believes in me shall never die (καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα·). Do you believe this? (πιστεύεις τοῦτο;)' She said to him, 'Yes,

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37 As does Mark, in his only use of the verb ἰάομαι (see above, 164-5).

38 Mk 5.23: the third person aorist passive subjunctive σωθῇ only occurs once in the New Testament in a healing context (see App. 7:11, σωθῇ).

39 ἅπτομαι does not appear in this story however, rather κρατέω is used to describe Jesus' touch (5.41), as in the parallel accounts in *Luke* (8.54), and *Matthew* (9.25). κρατέω is a strong verb. It implies a more overpowering touch than ἅπτομαι (see below, 204f.).

40 Lk 8.50: the third person singular future passive indicative, σωθήσεται, appears twice in a healing context, here and at John 11.12.

> Lord; I believe (ἐγὼ πεπίστευκα) that you are the Christ (ὁ Χριστὸς), the Son of God (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ), he who is coming (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) into the world."[41]

Later Jesus uses πιστεύω twice, once to Martha (ἐὰν πιστεύσῃς (11.40)), and once in prayer (ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν (11.41)). πιστεύω also appears in the narrative. The result of Lazarus' restoration was, predictably, that "many of the Jews ... believed (ἐπίστευσαν)",[42] so that the chief priests and the Pharisees wonder what to do about him, saying,

> "If we let him go on thus, everyone will believe in him (πάντες πιστεύσουσιν εἰς αὐτόν), and the Romans will come and destroy both our (holy?) place (τὸν τόπον) and our nation."[43]

Thus the verb πιστεύω occurs nine times in this story, six times out of the mouth of Jesus,[44] once in narrative describing result,[45] once out of Martha's mouth affirming her belief,[46] and once expressing the fear of the chief priests and Pharisees.[47] It is linked with the verb ζάω, a verb that appears in six of ten New Testament stories dealing with death (sleep).[48]

In the Lukan story of the healing of the Gerasene demoniac Luke puts σώζω into the mouths of bystanders who explain how the Gerasene demoniac was healed: πῶς ἐσώθη ὁ δαιμονισθείς.[49] The result in the life of this man (as in the lives of the blind beggar, and the Samaritan leper) was discipleship. People found the man "sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in his right mind (καθήμενον ... ἱματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ)".[50] However, when the man begged "that he might be with him (εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ)", Jesus "sent him away[51] (ἀπέλυσεν δὲ αὐτὸν)", with instructions to "return home and declare how much God has done

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41 Jn 11.25-27
42 Jn 11.45
43 Jn 11.48
44 Jn 11.15, 25, 26, 27, 40, 41
45 Jn 11.45
46 Jn 11.27
47 Jn 11.48
48 Mk 5.23; Mt 9.18; Jn 4.50ff.; Jn 11.25ff.; Acts 9.40; Acts 20.12
49 Lk 8.36: the third person singular aorist passive indicative ἐσώθη . Cf. Mt 9.22, and see Apps 7:10 and 7:11.
50 Lk 8.35
51 Lk 8.38 (see Vermes [1983] 49).

for you".[52] Thus this story does not exhibit the secrecy motif that is so prominent in many other healing stories.[53]

The verb σῴζω also appears in two Lukan healing stories in *Acts* in the same form. The aorist passive infinitive σωθῆναι occurs in both accounts of the healing of different lame men.[54] The first comes out of Peter's mouth in his speech to the Council, explaining the healing of the lame man at the temple gate.[55] Although Luke uses a range of healing words in this story: σῴζω, θεραπεύω, ὑγιής, ἴασις, ὁλοκληρία, (δύναμις, σημεῖον), Peter's speech revolves around the importance of faith (πίστις) in Jesus' name (3.16), and he explains how the man was healed (σέσωται)[56] in the name of Jesus (4.9-10), and that there isn't any salvation (ἡ σωτηρία) in anyone/anything else (4.12), for there is no other name by which we must be saved (ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς (4.12)). Thus it was πίστις which led to the ὁλοκληρίαν (3.16) of the man who was lame. The result in the behaviour of the man was (as with the blind beggar at Luke 18.43) that he began praising God (3.8), and soon "everybody began praising God" (4.21). His restoration became this "sign of healing (τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως)",[57] a catalyst for mass conversion.

The second appearance of σωθῆναι occurs in the Lukan account of Paul's healing of the man lame from birth.[58] Paul saw that "he had faith to be made well (καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ σωθῆναι)." Again σῴζω depends on πίστις.

What then of the use of the σῴζω διασῴζω family of words in New Testament healing stories?

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52 Lk 8.39

53 Mark 5.19 contains the same command, but cf. Mk 1.44 = Lk 5.14 = Mt 8.4; Lk 8.56 = Mk 5.43; Mk 7.36; Mk 8.26; Mt 9.30. See also Wrede (1971).

54 The first where Peter (and John?) is the agent (Acts 3.1-26, 4.1-31); the second where Paul is the agent (Acts 14.8-11). See App. 8:1.

55 Acts 4.12

56 Acts 4.9: the third person singular perfect passive indicative σέσωται occurs only once in the New Testament in a healing context (see Apps 7:10 and 7:11).

57 Acts 4.22

58 Acts 14.9

Matthew uses forms of σῴζω διασῴζω four times in two healing stories.[59] Both incidents record the healing of those who touched Jesus' clothes, in faith. Jesus claims that it was the faith of the haemorrhaging woman which saved her: "ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε".[60] The faith of those at Gennesaret is also noted: "καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτον ἵνα μόνον ἅψωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι ἥψαντο διεσώθησαν".[61] The thoughts of the haemorrhaging woman: "ἔλεγεν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῇ, Ἐὰν μόνον ἅψωμαι τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ σωθήσομαι",[62] echo the description of the crowd, in content and language. And like the man's demonic epileptic son,[63] the centurion's "boy",[64] and the Canaanite woman's daughter,[65] the haemorrhaging woman was healed from the hour that Jesus spoke to her: "καὶ ἐσώθη ἡ γυνὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης".[66] σῴζω and διασῴζω then, in *Matthew*, record instantaneous healing of those who touched Jesus' clothes in faith. The verb chosen to describe that touch on each occasion is ἅπτομαι. In *Matthew* it is only Jesus who uses σῴζω in the active voice.

Mark uses σῴζω on more occasions than Matthew. However, as in *Matthew* σῴζω is linked with ἅπτομαι in the story of the haemorrhaging woman, in (almost) identical language: "ἐὰν ἅψωμαι κἂν τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ σωθήσομαι".[67] Jesus' saying is identical: "ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε".[68] Like Matthew, Mark also uses σῴζω with ἅπτομαι to report the healing of crowds of people at Gennesaret,[69] but he chooses the imperfect, rather than the aorist, to describe these events, implying a series of episodes over a period of time. Mark uses σῴζω on two other occasions, occasions where Matthew chooses to omit σῴζω. The first is in Mark's story of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand,[70] where Jesus asks the Pharisees whether it is lawful on the sabbath to save life (ψυχὴν σῶσαι),

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59 Mt 9.21, 22, 22; 14.36 (see Apps 7:10 and 7:11).
60 Mt 9.22
61 Mt 14.36
62 Mt 9.21
63 Mt 17.18
64 Mt 8.13
65 Mt 15.28
66 Mt 9.22
67 Mk 5.28
68 Mk 5.34
69 Mk 6.56
70 Mk 3.4

or to kill, wording that is retained by Luke.[71] Mark also has Jesus repeat the saying, "ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε" to Bartimaeus,[72] a saying preserved by Luke.[73] Thus, in *Mark*, as in *Matthew*, it is only Jesus who uses σῴζω in the active voice in direct speech.

Luke chooses to use σῴζω more than Mark, in more healing stories. As in *Mark*, Luke retains σῶσαι in the story of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand.[74] Luke also retains Jesus' saying, "ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε", in the stories of the haemorrhaging woman,[75] and the healing of the blind beggar near Jericho.[76] However Luke also puts this saying into the mouth of Jesus, when he addresses the Samaritan leper, who returned to thank him for his health.[77] Jewish elders also use διασῴζω, when they request Jesus' help on behalf of the centurion,[78] and bystanders explain how the Gerasene demoniac was healed in terms of σῴζω.[79] Finally, Luke puts σωθήσεται into the mouth of Jesus, when he tells Jairus not to fear, only believe, and his daughter will be saved.[80] This same form of σῴζω comes out of the mouths of the disciples in John's only use of this word in a healing story, the raising of Lazarus.[81] It is interesting that the same form is used by both Luke and John, in stories concerning "sleep" and "death", and that in both stories the link between "belief" and "salvation" is stressed.

Other Lukan uses of σῴζω in healing stories occur in two stories in *Acts*.[82] The first three forms come out of Peter's mouth in the Lukan account of

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71 Lk 6.9
72 Mk 10.52
73 Lk 18.42
74 Lk 6.9
75 Lk 8.48
76 Lk 18.42
77 Lk 17.19
78 Lk 7.3
79 Lk 8.36
80 Lk 8.50
81 Jn 11.12
82 Acts 3.1-26, 4.1-31 and 14.8-11. But forms of σῴζω also occur in the story that is the result of the healing of the slave girl who had a spirit of divination (16.30, 31). The girl herself had shouted (16.17) that Paul and his companions were proclaiming the way of salvation (ὁδὸν σωτηρίας). As a result of her healing Paul and Silas were imprisoned. There the gaoler asked them "What must I do to be saved? (τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ;)" (16.30). Paul's and Silas' answer to the gaoler's question: "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved, you and your household (Πίστευσον ..., καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου)." The result was that he believed (πεπιστευκὼς τῷ θεῷ (16.34)), and he and his

the healing of the lame man,[83] a story which emphasises the man's faith.[84] The second story is the Lukan account of Paul's healing of the man lame from birth.[85] Again faith is linked with σώζω. Thus the exploits of Peter and Paul are balanced, in deed, and word.

The only other New Testament use of σώζω in a (physical?) healing context, is at James 5.15, where James says that the prayer of faith will save the man laid low (ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα). Again πίστις is linked with σώζω.

Thus the use of σώζω and διασώζω in healing stories denotes far more than physical healing. Like θεραπεύω and the Lukan use of ἰάομαι the σώζω διασώζω family of words in healing stories is primarily spiritual in meaning. Those that are "saved/healed" are those who reach out to Jesus in faith. Faith is emphasised and some form of discipleship is the usual result. Thus there is a strong element of conversion in healing stories that feature σώζω or διασώζω in their healing language. And, unless it comes out of the mouth of Jesus, the verb usually appears in the passive voice.

There are other important healing words in the New Testament healing narrative. Indeed, a study of one generally leads to a network of associated others. One of these is the verb καθαίρω.

καθαίρω

καθαίρω occurs in two healing stories in the synoptic gospels: the synoptic parallel account of the leper's cleansing,[86] and the Lukan story of the ten lepers.[87] It also occurs in Matthew's account of Jesus' command to the disciples,[88] and in the Matthaean and Lukan account of Jesus' reply to the messengers of John the Baptist who question his identity.[89]

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family were baptised. Again πιστεύω is linked with σώζω. This is obviously a conversion account, and is not supposed to describe physical healing. But that this combination of terminology appears so often in "healing" stories is too striking to ignore. Discipleship must be part of the healing/saving process.

83 Acts 4.9, 12, 12

84 Acts 3.16

85 Acts 14.9

86 Mk 1.40-45; Mt 8.1-3; Lk 5.12-13.

87 Lk 17.11-19. See above, 176, 192.

88 Mt 10.8. The second person plural present active imperative καθαρίζετε occurs only once, out of the mouth of Jesus. This instruction, to "cleanse lepers" (λεπροὺς καθαρίζετε)

A study of the synoptic use of καθαίρω reveals a pattern of treatment concerning the same healing story. In the parallel accounts of the leper's cleansing the request of the leper is reported in (almost) identical language,[90] Jesus' reply is reported in identical language,[91] Jesus' action is reported with the same verb (ἅπτομαι),[92] and Jesus' instruction to the leper to show himself to the priest and fulfil the requirements of the law is also reported in very similar language in each account. Similarly, Jesus' request for secrecy is also reported in identical language[93] by all three synoptists. Thus all three synoptists report Jesus' speech in identical language, and are very similar in their reporting of indirect speech.

However, for all these similarities, there are significant differences in their accounts. The location of each incident is different. Mark does not specify a location, but places Jesus somewhere in Galilee (1.39), while Matthew says that Jesus had come down from the mountain (where he had been teaching) and that great crowds had followed him (8.1). Luke

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appears in a long list of instructions to the newly commissioned disciples of where to go (and where not to go), what to say, what to do, and what to take with them. Cf. Mk 3.13-19, 6.7-13; Lk 6.12-16, 9. 1-6; and *GT* #14. For a discussion of this use, see below, chapter ten.

89 Mt 11.5; Lk 7.22. The third person plural present passive indicative καθαρίζονται occurs twice, in the Lukan and Matthaean accounts of Jesus' reply to the messengers from John the Baptist. Both replies are based on the Septuagint version of Isaiah 35.5-6, 42.18 and 61.1. However Isaiah does not mention the cleansing of lepers, (nor the raising of the dead), and so καθαίρω does not appear in the promises of Isaiah. This raises the question of the origin, significance, and purpose of this saying.

90 The aorist active infinitive καθαρίσαι appears three times in the parallel synoptic accounts of the leper's cleansing (Mk 1.40; Mt 8.2; Lk 5.12). On each occasion it comes out of the mouth of the leper, when he addresses Jesus with the words: "If you want to, you can make me clean (ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι)". The request is framed in identical language in the three accounts, except that both Matthew and Luke preface the leper's request with the vocative κύριε.

91 The aorist passive second singular imperative καθαρίσθητι occurs three times, in the parallel synoptic accounts of Jesus' saying to the leper: θέλω, καθαρίσθητι. Jesus' saying is reported in identical language in each gospel.

92 The result is reported in different language however. The aorist passive third person singular indicative ἐκαθαρίσθη occurs twice, as a narrative summation of the story of the leper's cleansing in the Markan and Matthaean accounts. Mark (1.42) describes the result thus: "καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη". Matthew (8.3) reduces this to: "καὶ εὐθέως ἐκαθαρίσθη αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα", while Luke (5.13) prefers: "καὶ εὐθέως ἡ λέπρα ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ". This difference shows that while the synoptists are comfortable changing the language of narration, they are far less likely to tamper with direct speech.

93 Matthew and Luke omit Mark's μηδὲν.

places Jesus in an (anonymous) city (5.12). Both Mark and Matthew describe the man as a λεπρός, while Luke says he was πλήρης λέπρας.[94] And while all three report Jesus' secrecy instruction, and his command to go to the priest and offer the gift that Moses commanded,[95] the sequel is entirely different in each gospel. Matthew launches straight into the account of the healing of the centurion's servant (8.5-13), while Mark reports that the leper disobeyed Jesus' demand for secrecy, and spread the news so much that Jesus could no longer openly enter a town but was out in the wilderness, where people were coming to him from all the surrounding area (1.45). Luke does not ascribe the lack of secrecy to the leper himself, but just states that the report concerning Jesus circulated, with the result that great crowds gathered to listen to him, and θεραπεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσθενειῶν (a mass conversion?)[96] after which Jesus withdrew to the wilderness and prayed.[97] Thus the synoptists, while not tampering with the words of Jesus, are quite happy to alter location, audience, and effect.

There is one other striking difference in this story. Mark reports Jesus' compassion (1.41) and anger (1.43), details that both Matthew and Luke choose to omit. The language is difficult. While σπλαγχνισθείς (1.41) has a doubtful attestation[98] (ὀργισθείς being the variant reading),[99] it occurs in other places in the gospels as the motive for healing,[100] and does give a

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94 Lk 5.12. Hobart (1882) 5-6, sees this as an indication of Luke's medical profession. However Jeremias (1975) 86 sees details like this as an indication of Luke's wish to heighten the element of the miraculous. Luke also makes the leper "fall on his face" (πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον), whereas Mark (γονυπετῶν) and Matthew (προσκύνει αὐτῷ) make him "kneel".

95 See Leviticus, chapters 13 and 14 for the law regarding leprosy. The rite that the priest had to perform has a strong element of magic in it: see especially Leviticus 14.2-32.

96 See above, chapter seven.

97 Lk 5.15-16

98 σπλαγχνισθεὶς is the reading preferred to ὀργισθείς, but with a high level of doubt, and therefore designated category {D}. See New Testament (1975) 123, and Metzger (1975) 76-77.

99 Schweizer (1981) 58, prefers ὀργισθείς because of "the horror of the misery which accompanied the disease"; however, Metzger (1975) 76, states that the "character of the external evidence in support of ὀργισθείς is less impressive than the diversity and character of evidence that supports σπλαγχνισθεὶς." He suggests (77) "that the reading ὀργισθείς either (a) was suggested by ἐμβριμησάμενος of ver. 43, or (b) arose from confusion between similar words in Aramaic...".

100 It is not specifically given as the motive for healing in any episode in *Mark*, although it does occur as a possible motive in the request of the epileptic boy's father, when he asks Jesus to help his son (9.22). However Matthew uses this form (20.34) to explain Jesus' healing of the two blind men, and twice uses ἐσπλαγχνίσθη (9.36; 14.14), firstly to describe

credible reason for Jesus' touching an unclean person (a touch which rendered him ritually unclean).[101] However, the verse in *Mark* (1.43): καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν is puzzling. Just what does this verse mean? While ἐμβριμάομαι does appear in one other place in a healing story,[102] ἐκβάλλω normally appears in *Mark* (in a healing context) in stories related to exorcism.[103] It certainly seems inappropriate in this instance. Some commentators have taken the view that Mark views this entire episode as an exorcism, and that Jesus is here addressing the demon rather than the man.[104] However Mark does use this term in another healing story (that of Jairus' daughter (5.40)) to describe the physical expulsion of people,[105] a story that also contains a touching verb (κρατήσας [5.41]). It is most unlikely that this story could in any way be

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Jesus' emotion at seeing the crowds "harassed and helpless" (9.36), and secondly, as his motive for healing the weak among the crowd (καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν τοὺς ἀρρώστους αὐτῶν), before the feeding of the 5,000 (14.14). Luke also uses ἐσπλαγχνίσθη as the motive for Jesus' healing of the only son of the widow of Nain (7.13).

101 See Leviticus ch.13, ch.14. Jesus also touched (ἥψατο) the bier of the son of the widow of Nain (Luke 7.14).

102 Not in *Mark*! He prefers ἐπιτιμάω (1.25, 9.25), διαστέλλομαι (5.43, 7.36), and ἐπιτιμάω when commanding the disciples to secrecy (8.30). However, Matthew reports that Jesus ἐνεβριμήθη αὐτοῖς (9.30), in his first story of the healing of two blind men, when he demands that they keep their healing secret, a request that was disobeyed (9.31). But, when a similar request for secrecy is made in a general healing episode in *Matthew*, Matthew chooses to use the verb ἐπιτιμάω (12.16). Jeremias (1975) 92 says of ἐμβριμάομαι that it "presumably paraphrases the oriental sign-language for a command to be silent", and, given the context of its appearance in both these healing stories, this would make sense. However, if we compare the context of John's use of this word in the story of the raising of Lazarus (11. 33, 38), this meaning does not make any sense at all.

103 But it is not as popular as one might think. Mark describes Jesus' activity thus only in general healing episodes (1.34, 1.39) and that of the disciples (6.13). He also puts this word into the mouth of the Syro-Phoenician woman (7.26), and the disciples (9.28). However, in the story of the healing of Jairus' daughter, Mark (5.40) describes Jesus' action when he banishes the people from the sick room in terms of ἐκβάλλω (ἐκβαλών). Similarly, Matthew reports that Jesus banished the crowd (ἐξεβλήθη ὁ ὄχλος) in his account of the same story (9.25). Luke (8.51) prefers to describe Jesus' action thus: "he permitted no one to enter with him, except Peter and John and James, and the father and mother of the child". Matthew uses ἐκβάλλω in exorcism stories to describe Jesus' behaviour (8.16), and its result (9.33); and also puts this word into the mouth of demons (8.31), the Pharisees (9.34, 12.24), and the disciples (17.19). Luke uses the word sparingly. He describes Jesus' behaviour (11.14), and puts this word into the mouth of John (9.49), and "some" of Jesus' critics (11.15). Similarly he omits it from his account of Jesus' commission to his disciples (Luke 9.1), while both Matthew and Mark choose to use it in their accounts of Jesus' commission to the disciples (Mt 10.1, 10.8; Mk 3.15. See below, chapter ten).

104 Beare (1981) 204, takes this view, and also prefers the reading ὀργισθείς to that of σπλαγχνισθείς. However Mark's other uses of ἐκβάλλω do not support this interpretation. It is not used to describe Jesus' behaviour in the specific demonic episode (1.23-28), only to voice the request of the Syro-Phoenician mother (7.26), and the question of the disciples (9.28). In general healing episodes it appears at 1.34, 1.39, and 6.13.

105 See above, n.103.

regarded as an exorcism, when Mark has stated explicitly that Jesus touched (ἥψατο) the man.[106] Therefore ἐκβάλλω must refer to bodily expulsion.

The Lukan story of the ten lepers corresponds in some details to the synoptic story of the man with leprosy. Again Jesus is approached by the "patients" (17.12-13). This time, however, Jesus does not touch them, but, as on the other occasion, instructs them to show themselves to the priests (17.14). On the way they were cleansed (ἐκαθαρίσθησαν).[107] Only one of them, seeing that he had been healed (ἰάθη)[108] turned with a loud voice praising God (17.15), and "fell on his face" at Jesus' feet, thanking him. He was a Samaritan, an ἀλλογενής (17.16,18). Jesus comments on the absence of the other nine (17.17-18), and instructs the man to get up and go on, for his faith has saved him (17.19). One wonders what happened to the other nine! Certainly the inference is that they have not experienced the same faith (πίστις) as the Samaritan leper, and are therefore excluded from the same salvation (σώζω).[109]

Jesus' method of healing

As has been noted Jesus' method of healing involved either word or touch, or a combination of both. Three verbs occur in healing accounts which describe the "touch" of Jesus:[110] ἅπτομαι, κρατέω and ἐπιτίθημι (τὰς χεῖρας).[111] ἅπτομαι is the most common, but occurs only in synoptic stories, and only in the middle voice.[112] (It does not feature in healing stories in either *John* or *Acts*.) It appears twenty-five times in synoptic healing stories, and in four other significant places.[113] It appears in both general and specific healing episodes.

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106 Mk 1.41. But cf. Mark's story of the epileptic boy (9.14-29). Jesus touches (κρατήσας) the boy after his "cure".

107 The aorist passive third person plural indicative ἐκαθαρίσθησαν occurs twice in the Lukan account of the healing of the ten lepers. One occurs in a narrative description: "καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκαθαρίσθησαν" (17.14), while the other comes out of the mouth of Jesus: "Οὐχὶ οἱ δέκα ἐκαθαρίσθησαν;" (17.17).

108 See above, 176, and App. 8:4: ἰάθη.

109 See above, 198f.

110 See below n.134 for a discussion of Jesus' rare use of saliva. Cf. Vespasian's use of saliva (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.81), and see Jeremias (1975) 88-9.

111 Hobart (1882) does not consider any of these expressions.

112 See App. 7:12. It is odd that ἅπτομαι does not appear in Kittel *et al.* (1964).

113 Twice in the Markan and Lukan parallel report that they brought children to Jesus in order that he might touch them (Mk 10.13: ἅψηται; Lk 18.15: ἅπτηται); describing Jesus' touch when he allayed the disciples' fear after the Transfiguration (Mt 17.7: ἁψάμενος);

ἅπτομαι in general healing episodes

Luke uses ἅπτομαι in a general healing episode following the words ἀκοῦσαι ... ἰαθῆναι ... ἐθεραπεύοντο.[114] Luke reports that "the entire crowd were seeking to touch (and keep on touching) Jesus, because power was radiating from him and healing them all (καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐζήτουν ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο καὶ ἰᾶτο πάντας)". Luke is the only author to use the present tense in this context, but his account could be a parallel report to the general healing episodes at Gennesaret described by both Matthew and Mark.

Both Mark and Matthew choose a combination of two forms of the aorist tense of ἅπτομαι in parallel accounts of the general healing episode at Gennesaret.[115] In both accounts the people reached out to touch Jesus, and in both accounts Mark and Matthew choose to use a combination of the verbs ἅπτομαι and σῴζω.[116] The language of this account mirrors the language used in the synoptic parallel accounts of the healing of the haemorrhaging woman.[117]

ἅπτομαι in specific healing episodes

The verb ἅπτομαι appears in nine specific healing episodes: the parallel accounts of the haemorrhaging woman and the leper; in the Markan stories of the man who was both deaf and dumb, and the blind man; in the Matthaean accounts of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, and both his accounts of the blind men; and the Lukan stories of the widow's son and the temple slave.[118]

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and where the Pharisees discuss the woman who anointed Jesus, and describe her touch in the present tense (Lk 7.39: ἅπτεται).

114 Lk 6.18-19. The present infinitive ἅπτεσθαι occurs only once, in this Lukan general healing episode.

115 ἥψαντο ... ἅψωνται Mk 6.56; Mt 14.36.

116 See above 188-94, and below, 205-8.

117 The aorist middle subjunctive first person singular, ἅψωμαι, occurs twice, in the Markan and Matthaean parallel account of the the thought of the haemorrhaging woman (Mk 5.28 = Mt 9.21). In her mind, salvation (rescue/healing?: σῴζω), is dependent on her being able to touch Jesus (ἅψωμαι). Thus the language chosen by the synoptists Mark and Matthew here mirrors the language in their parallel account of the general healing episode at Gennesaret (Mk 6.56; Mt 14.36).

118 Lk 22.51: ἁψαμενός, in a story peculiar to Luke (see above, 172).

The most popular form of ἅπτομαι is the aorist third person singular middle indicative ἥψατο, which occurs fifteen times in seven synoptic healing stories, eight times describing Jesus' touch (in six stories), and seven times in the combined parallel accounts of the healing of the haemorrhaging woman, describing her touch,[119] Jesus' question,[120] the disciples' question,[121] and the woman's confession.[122] Forms of both πίστις and σῴζω[123] appear in the three synoptic accounts of this story.

Elsewhere this form only describes Jesus' touch in healing stories. The first, the synoptic parallel account of the healing of the leper,[124] is interesting because all synoptists are happy to agree that Jesus "touched" the leper, a touch that would have made him ritually unclean.[125] And yet, in the same story, all three synoptists are careful to point out that Jesus commanded the man to show himself to the priest, and fulfil the requirements commanded by Moses.[126] Thus, in the one story, Jesus shows disregard for the law concerning himself, and yet concern that the leper should exactly fulfil legal requirements.[127]

The form ἥψατο also occurs in Luke's story of the son of the widow of Nain, describing Jesus' touching of the bier (7.14). This touch would have rendered Jesus ritually unclean,[128] as did his touching the leper. Thus again Jesus shows disregard for his own ritual purity.

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119 Mk 5.27 = Mt 9.20 = Lk 8.44. The woman's touch would have rendered Jesus unclean: see Leviticus 15.19-30.

120 Mk 5.30 = Lk 8.46. Jesus also uses another form of ἅπτομαι in Luke's account of Jesus' questioning: the aorist middle participle, ἁψαμενός, (nominative masculine singular) at 8.45. Here Luke has chosen it in preference to the repeated Markan form ἥψατο (5.31).

121 Mk 5.31

122 Lk 8.47

123 See above, 194.

124 Mk 1.41 = Mt 8.3 = Lk 5.13

125 See Leviticus, chapters 13 and 14.

126 Cf. Mk 1.40-45; Mt 8.1-4; Lk 5.12-16. The requirements are set out in Leviticus 14.1-32. The priest and the cleansed leper perform a highly magical ritual, which, when performed, signals the leper's purification, and his right to re-enter society.

127 This acts as a 'proof' that the miracle has taken place. 'Proof' of the miracle by means of tangible evidence is also a common feature of healings at Epidauros (see Apps 2:1 and 2:2).

128 See Leviticus 22.4-6: "...Whoever touches anything that is unclean through contact with the dead ... shall be unclean ...".

Matthew chooses ἥψατο to describe Jesus' touch when healing Peter's mother-in-law,[129] and chooses the same form to describe Jesus' touch in both his accounts of the healings of the two blind men.[130] In both these incidents the patients approach Jesus and attract his attention.[131] In the first incident Jesus touched their eyes (ἥψατο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν), and issued the command "Let it be to you according to your faith (κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν γενηθήτω ὑμῖν)" (9.29), echoing the language used to the centurion (8.13), and the Canaanite woman (15.28). This is the only story where Matthew chooses to use ἐμβριμάομαι in a secrecy command, a command which was disregarded.[132] In the case of the second incident involving two blind men, Jesus, overcome by compassion (σπλαγχνισθείς 20.34), touched their eyes (ἥψατο τῶν ὀμμάτων). In both cases the cure was instantaneous.[133]

Mark chooses ἅπτομαι in two of his most controversial healings.[134] He chooses ἥψατο to describe Jesus' touch in the story of the healing of the deaf and dumb man, a healing story peculiar to his gospel.[135] "Touching" figures prominently in this healing. Jesus is requested (7.32) to lay his hand on him (ἐπιθῇ αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα) by the crowd, but his touch is described thus:

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129 Mt 8.15. Mark (1.31) chooses κρατήσας to describe this touch, while Luke prefers to make Jesus "rebuke" (ἐπετίμησεν) the fever (4.39). See Sanders and Davies (1989) 279.

130 Mt 9.29; 20.34

131 Mt 9.27; 20.30

132 Mt 9.30-31. See above, n.102.

133 Mt 9.30; 20.30

134 Mk 7.31-37: the deaf and dumb man; Mk 8.22-26: the blind man. Hull (1974) 76, 82f., uses these two healings as examples of his theory that Jesus used magical techniques, and cites as evidence Jesus' touching of the afflicted parts, the use of saliva, and a foreign command (7.31-37); and the protracted nature of the cure with the use of saliva, and frequent touching (8.22-26). If we compare healing methods at Epidauros, the 'touch' of the god (*IG* IV^2 1, 122, 31: ἅπτομαι), his use of his fingers (*IG* IV^2 1, 121, 18), and the use of saliva by temple dogs (*IG* IV^2 1, 121, 20 and 122, 26) are well documented (see chapter two, and Apps 2:1 and 2:2). A more telling example is the witness of Jesus' contemporary, Pliny the Elder, who records that human saliva was thought to have healing properties, especially for the treatment of lichens, leprous sores, ophthalmia, carcinomata, pains in the neck, and even to expel insects from the ear canal. In some cases the saliva had to be from a fasting human being (*Natural History* 28.37-8). Thus, far from recording techniques that he considered to be magical, Mark could be reflecting current medical thought in the portrayal of Jesus' use of touch and saliva. Saliva was also used in a magical fashion at that time, as Pliny's account also shows, and yet the instances specifically recorded by Mark are those which were used in medical, not magical, practice. The physician Galen also comments on the healing properties of saliva (*On the natural faculties* 3.7.163).

135 Mk 7.31-37

"he put his fingers in his ears (ἔβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ), and he spat and touched his tongue (καὶ πτύσας ἥψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ)".[136]

In the Markan story of the protracted healing of the blind man, ἅπτομαι occurs only once, in the reported speech of the people who brought the blind man to Jesus, and begged that Jesus might touch him.[137] This healing is unusual for its description of Jesus' touch, and its protracted nature.[138] Jesus does touch the man, and his touch is described thus: ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ... ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας (8.23) ... πάλιν ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας (8.25). The only other healing story in *Mark* where Jesus' actions are described ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας is in his account of the general healing episode at Nazareth (6.5). Elsewhere this expression in *Mark* occurs only in healing requests.[139]

Thus ἅπτομαι is a primary synoptic healing word. It describes either Jesus' touch,[140] or the touch of those wishing to be healed,[141] or figures in the requests of those who ask for healing on behalf of others.[142] It occurs in at least nine,[143] and possibly eleven,[144] synoptic healing episodes. It appears in fairly exclusive company. For example, both

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136 Mk 7.33

137 Mk 8.22: the aorist middle subjunctive third person singular, ἅψηται.

138 Mk 8.22-26. The man at first saw men that looked like trees walking (8.24), but later saw everything clearly (8.25). Cf. *IG* IV^2 1, 121, 18 (App. 2:1, **18**) where Alketas of Halieis who was blind approached Asklepios at Epidauros and "the god came up to him and with his fingers opened his eyes, and ... he first saw the trees in the sanctuary (ὁ θεὸς ποτελθὼν τοῖς δακτύλοις διάγειν τὰ ὄμματα καὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ δένδρη πρῶτον τὰ ἐν τῶι ἰαρῶι)".

139 Mk 5.23; 7.32

140 Nine times in seven stories: the parallel accounts of the healing of the leper, the Matthaean account of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, the Markan deaf-mute, both Matthaean stories of the two blind men, the Lukan account of the bier at Nain, and the Lukan account of the temple slave.

141 All three synoptic accounts of the haemorrhaging woman, the Markan and Matthaean crowds at Gennesaret, and the Lukan crowd (a parallel story?).

142 On behalf of the Markan blind man (8.22).

143 The synoptic account of the leper (Mk 1.40-45; Mt 8.2-4; Lk 5.12-14), the Matthaean account of Peter's mother-in-law (8.14-15), the synoptic account of the haemorrhaging woman (Mk 5. 24-34; Mt 9.20-22; Lk 8.42-48), the Matthaean blind men (9.27-31; 20.29-34), the Lukan widow's son (7.11-18), the Markan blind man (8.22-26), the Markan deaf and dumb man (7.31-37), the Lukan temple slave (22.49-51), and the crowd scenes in *Matthew* (14.35-36), *Mark* (6.53-56), and *Luke* (6.17-19).

144 If Matthew's blind men (9.27-31; 20.29-34) are taken as separate healing stories, and if the Lukan crowd scene (6.17-19) is separated from the Markan and Matthaean crowd scenes at Gennesaret (Mk 6.53-56; Mt 14.35-36).

occurrences of ἐμβριμάομαι in synoptic healing stories occur in company with ἅπτομαι;[145] and σπλάγχνίζομαι also always occurs in "touching" healing stories,[146] three times with ἅπτομαι,[147] and once with κρατέω.[148]

κρατέω

κρατέω appears five times in synoptic healing stories, describing three specific healing episodes. Mark chooses κρατέω to describe Jesus' touch in three healing stories:[149] Peter's mother-in-law (1.31), Jairus' daughter (5.41), and the epileptic boy (9.27). Both Matthew and Luke retain this verb in only one story - that of Jairus' daughter.[150] It has already been noted that in the story of Peter's mother-in-law Matthew preferred to substitute ἅπτομαι for κράτεω, while Luke preferred to say that Jesus "rebuked the fever (ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πυρετῷ)".[151] In Mark's other story containing κράτεω, that of the epileptic boy,[152] Matthew does not allow Jesus to touch the boy,[153] nor Luke, although one wonders then how Jesus "gave him back to his father"![154] However all three synoptists agree that Jesus "rebuked" (ἐπετίμησεν) the demon, only Mark adding the verb ἐπιτάσσω in this story, a verb that he includes with ἐπιτιμάω in his first healing story, that of the man in the synagogue who had an unclean spirit.[155] Luke uses ἐπιτιμάω and ἐπιτάσσω in his parallel account of the

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145 The Markan leper, 1.43; and the Matthaean blind men, 9.30. But note the appearance of ἐμβριμάομαι in John's story of the raising of Lazarus (11.1-57), in the expressions ἐνεβριμήσατο τῷ πνεύματι (11.33), and ἐμβριμώμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ (11.38). Here Jesus' distress is limited by the phrases τῷ πνεύματι and ἐν ἑαυτῷ, rather than directed elsewhere, as in the synoptic accounts.

146 Otherwise σπλάγχνίζομαι occurs in crowd scenes in *Matthew* (9.36; 14.14).

147 Mk 1.41; Mt 20.34; Lk 7.13

148 Mk 9.22

149 Mark always uses κρατέω in the same form: the aorist active participial nominative masculine singular κρατήσας (see App. 7:13).

150 Luke (8.54) chooses the same participial form as Mark (κρατήσας τῆς χειρός), while Matthew (9.25) chooses the aorist indicative (ἐκράτησεν τῆς χειρός). Perhaps it is appropriate that Matthew and Luke should only choose to retain κρατέω in a story describing Jesus' overpowering of death. κρατέω is a "stronger" verb than ἅπτομαι, and generally implies some form of resistance.

151 Lk 4.39

152 Mk 9.14-29. However Jesus does not touch the boy until after his 'cure' when the boy was "like a corpse". (A period of utter exhaustion is a typical aftermath of a grandmal epileptic seizure.)

153 Mt 17.14-20

154 Lk 9.42. Matthew's and Luke's reason for omitting Jesus' touch from this story must be that they view this episode as primarily an exorcism.

155 Mk 1.23-38

man in the synagogue who had an unclean spirit,[156] and also uses ἐπιτιμάω in a general demonic healing episode to command silence.[157] It has already been noted that Howard Clark Kee,[158] discussing the terminology of Mark's exorcism stories, has pointed out that ἐπιτιμάω describes,

> "the word of command that brought ... hostile powers under control...."[159]

That Mark reserves it to describe Jesus' actions in two healing stories only,[160] both dealing with a "demon", is significant. Both Matthew and Luke are sparing in their use of the term, Matthew using it to describe Jesus' actions in his story of the epileptic boy (17.18), and in a secrecy command following a general healing episode (12.16),[161] while Luke uses it in his account of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law (4.39), as well as the two demonic episodes, parallel to the Markan episodes already noted (4.34, 9.42), and in a secrecy request, following a demonic general healing episode (4.41). Thus there is a definite synoptic pattern in the use of this word.

Luke also chooses κρατέω in a different context in a healing story in *Acts* (3.11), to describe the behaviour of the lame man after his healing at the temple gate: he was clinging (κρατοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ) to Peter and John, after jumping about and praising God.[162] The verb Luke chooses to describe Peter's touch in this healing story is πιάζω (3.7).

ἐπιτίθημι (τὰς χεῖρας)

The expression ἐπιτίθημι (τὰς χεῖρας) to describe Jesus' actions is surprisingly infrequent in the synoptic healing stories.[163] It occurs in

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156 Lk 4.31-38

157 Lk 4.41

158 Kee (1968) 232-246. (See above, 154.)

159 ibid. 246.

160 Although note that Mark uses this word to describe the crowds' rebuking of blind Bartimaeus' importunity (10.48); and to describe Jesus' secrecy command to the disciples (8.30).

161 Matthew also notes that the crowd "rebuked" (ἐπετίμησεν) the two blind men for their importunity (20.31), as do Luke (ἐπετίμων: 18.39), and Mark (ἐπετίμων: 10.48) in their parallel episodes.

162 To cling to both men at once was a rather difficult feat! Was he exhausted, or grateful? Was the healing of long duration?

163 The incidence of this word group does not support the conclusion of Theissen (1983) 62: that the healing touch "usually takes place as the laying on of hands ... probably also

requests, in the parallel accounts of the healing of Jairus' daughter,[164] and the Markan story of the deaf and dumb man;[165] and as a description of Jesus' behaviour in four stories: (i) the Markan story of the protracted healing of the blind man;[166] (ii) the Markan story of the general healing episode at Nazareth;[167] (iii) a Lukan general healing episode;[168] and in the Lukan story of the bent woman.[169] It also occurs in two healing stories in *Acts*:[170] (i) in instructions to Ananias and a description of his subsequent action with Paul;[171] and (ii), as a description of Paul's behaviour with Publius' father, on the island of Malta.[172] Thus, in all, this expression only appears in eight healing stories in the gospels and *Acts*. It is not recommended in the instructional passage in *James*.[173]

Thus of the touching verbs, ἅπτομαι is the most popular, especially to describe Jesus' healing touch. This reflects the use of this verb to describe the healing touch of Asklepios. Clearly, the image of a "god" who would stretch out a healing hand to help humans in distress seems to have had universal appeal in the ancient world, a universal appeal which has continued to the present day.

The last family of words to be considered in this study is the ὑγιαίνω ὑγιής family of words, words that were extremely popular in the Greek world to describe the result of the intervention of Asklepios.[174]

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where the text has only ἅπτεσθαι". He has probably based this assumption on the linking of these two 'touching' word groups in Mark's story of the protracted healing of the blind man (8.22-26). It is dangerous to generalise on the basis of this story. That there has been strong temptation to assume that this was the way the healing touch was performed is illustrated by the fact that the laying-on-of-hands has become standard practice in healing services in the contemporary Western Christian church.

164 Mk 5.23; Mt 9.18

165 Mk 7.32

166 Mk 8.23; 8.25

167 Mk 6.5

168 Lk 4.40

169 Lk 13.13

170 In *Acts* it also occurs as a means of commissioning (6.6, 13.3); and in stories relating the transmission of the Holy Spirit (8.19, 19.6).

171 Acts 9.12, 17

172 Acts 28.8

173 James 5.13-18

174 See *IG* IV^2 1, 121 and 122 (Apps 2:1 and 2:2) and App. 3:2.

ὑγιαίνω ὑγιής

Of the twenty-two occurrences of this family of words in the New Testament, nineteen are adjectival.[175] Forms occur six times in the synoptic gospels,[176] six times in *John*,[177] once in *Acts*,[178] and nine times in the epistles of Timothy,[179] Titus,[180] and John.[181] Since the majority of New Testament authors choose to use this family of words in an adjectival way (as in the inscriptions at Epidauros) we shall consider their adjectival role first.

ὑγιής -ές

The two termination adjective ὑγιής -ές occurs eleven times in the New Testament, once in *Mark*, twice in *Matthew*, six times in *John*, once in *Acts*, and once in *Titus*.[182]

ὑγιής occurs out of the mouth of Jesus, in Mark's account of the healing of the haemorrhaging woman.[183] It is part of a command from Jesus, following a statement from him that the woman's faith had saved her: Θυγάτηρ, ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε· ὕπαγε εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ ἴσθι ὑγιὴς ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγός σου. The word ὑγιής implies more than physical health. It builds on the concept of εἰρήνη, implying emotional, mental, and spiritual health as well.[184] Thus Jesus' command to her: "Go (and keep going) in peace, and be (always) healthy (whole) from your suffering" is a life-journey command, emphasised by Mark's use of present imperatives. The concept of εἰρήνη and its relationship with the Hebrew shalom has been discussed above.[185] Thus the call to spiritual health (discipleship? an awareness of the presence of God?) is explicit in Jesus' command.

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175 See App. 9:2.

176 Mt 12.13, 15.31; Mk 5.34; Lk 5.31, 7.10, 15.27

177 Jn 5.6, 9, 11, 14, 15, in the one healing story. ὑγιής also occurs at Jn 5.4, in the same healing story, but, according to Metzger (1975) 209, verse 4 is a gloss, category {A}. Therefore it will be disregarded in this study.

178 Acts 4.10

179 1 Timothy 1.10, 6.3; 2 Timothy 1.13, 4.3

180 Titus 1.9, 1.13, 2.1, 2.8

181 3 John 2

182 ὑγιής: Mt 12.13; Mk 5.34; Jn 5.6, 5.9, 5.14; Acts 4.10; ὑγιεῖς: Mt 15.31; ὑγιῇ: Jn 5.11, 5.15, 7.23; Titus 2.8

183 Mk 5.34: in its nominative singular feminine form (see App. 9:2).

184 See chapter six, and App. 6:1.

185 See above, 175-6.

Matthew also uses this form in his account of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand, after Jesus had spoken to him.[186] Matthew uses ἀποκαθίστημι in the passive voice as a copulative verb to describe what happened: "it was restored whole, like the other (καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ὑγιὴς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη)". The use of the passive voice signifies the intervention of God here, as in other healing episodes, while ὑγιής carries the physical meaning of "sound" or "healthy". Matthew also uses ὑγιής as an attributive adjective, in a general healing episode, qualifying κυλλούς (the maimed/crippled).[187] Thus Matthew is consistent in his use of this word: he chooses to use it only in a physical sense, to describe sound limbs, which had formerly been maimed (12.13, 15.31). In this use Matthew mirrors the meaning and use of ὑγιής in Greek inscriptions at Epidauros.[188]

The author of *John* is fond of the adjective ὑγιής and uses it six times in one healing story: that of the man beside the Beth-zatha pool in Jerusalem.[189] All six forms are predicative adjectives, four occurring in direct speech, one in reported speech, and the other as a description. Three occurrences of direct speech come out of the mouth of Jesus, twice when talking to the sick man, and once when talking to the Jews. He questions the sick man: "Do you want to be healthy/whole? (θέλεις ὑγιὴς γενέσθαι;)" (5.6), and then exclaims (5.14): "Behold! You are whole! (ἴδε ὑγιὴς γέγονας)". Finally he asks the Jews (7.23): "Are you angry with me because I made a man wholly healthy on the sabbath? (ἐμοὶ χολᾶτε ὅτι ὅλον ἄνθρωπον ὑγιῆ ἐποίσα ἐν σαββάτῳ;)" There is no mention of healing in relation to the body only.[190] Rather, the language stresses that the whole man is ὑγιής. This stress is unusual. Jesus uses it to point out the right judgment (τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν) of his action to his accusers.[191]

John also puts ὑγιής into the mouth of the man who had been healed, as he describes to the Jews what had happened to him, and why he was carrying his pallett on the sabbath. He described Jesus as "the man who

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186 Mt 12.13: as a predicative adjective (see App. 9:2).
187 Mt 15.31
188 See Part One: chapter two.
189 Jn 5.6-23
190 Cf. the RSV translation: "... are you angry with me because on the sabbath I made a man's whole body well?" (7.23)
191 Jn 7.24

made me whole (ὁ ποιήσας με ὑγιῆ)"(5.11). The second (5.15) occurs in his reported speech, when he identifies Jesus to the Jews as the man who made him healthy/whole (ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ ποιήσας αὐτόν ὑγιῆ).

ὑγιής also appears in the narrative as a description of the man after Jesus had commanded him to get up and pick up his pallet (καὶ εὐθέως ἐγένετο ὑγιὴς ὁ ἄνθρωπος).

That Jesus sought out this particular healing, and this particular confrontation, seems obvious. It is significant that Jesus chose the sabbath to perform this healing - his justification that he was working just as his father was still working (ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, κἀγὼ ἐργάζομαι (5.17)). John emphasises the symbolic significance of this healing by reserving his use of ὑγιής for this healing alone. Furthermore, of its six occurrences, John puts three into the mouth of Jesus. ὑγιής as John uses it, must, in common with its use in *Mark*, and the Septuagint, describe holistic health, i.e. total mental, emotional, physical and spiritual well-being.

Luke also uses the nominative form of ὑγιής, at Acts 4.10, in Peter's reply to the rulers, elders, scribes, and those of high-priestly family, concerning the healing of the man lame from birth (Acts 3.1-26, 4.1-31). In this speech (4.8-12) Peter describes the man in terms of σῴζω, and ὑγιής. Earlier (3.16), Peter had described him as enjoying perfect health (τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν). All these words convey holistic health.

The final use of ὑγιής in the New Testament occurs in the letter of Titus in the expression: "sound argument that cannot be censured (λόγον ὑγιῆ ἀκατάγνωστον)".[192] It appears in the context of a catalogue of the qualities of good teaching. Thus, to the writer, ὑγιής implies soundness, i.e. truth that springs out of faith.

The participial use of the verb ὑγιαίνω

As the participial use of the verb ὑγιαίνω is the most popular use of this verb in the New Testament, it is to that use we now turn. ὑγιαίνω in participial form occurs nine times, three times in Luke's gospel, four

192 Titus 2.8: the accusative masculine singular form ὑγιῆ, as an attributive adjective (see App. 9:2).

times in the letters of *Timothy*, and twice in *Titus*, always occuring in the active voice of the present tense.

Luke first uses the present participle of ὑγιαίνω as a noun with the article οἱ in a saying which Luke attributes to Jesus:

> "Those who are whole/healthy have no need of a physician, but those who are suffering. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners (those who have missed the mark) to a different way of thinking (repentance) (οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλὰ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες· οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν)."[193]

This saying occurs in Jesus' reply to a question from the scribes and the Pharisees concerning his eating companions. All three synoptic gospels report this controversy,[194] and all three record Jesus' reply.[195] The wording of Jesus' reply is identical in *Mark* and *Matthew*, but Luke changes the wording of his reply, substituting ὑγιαίνοντες for Mark's and Matthew's ἰσχύοντες, and adding εἰς μετάνοιαν to Mark's and Matthew's version of Jesus' final saying. Elsewhere the synoptists show reluctance to change the actual wording of Jesus' sayings,[196] while being quite happy to change the context,[197] and even the characters.[198] Thus Luke's substitution and addition is important. The verb ὑγιαίνω has a far wider meaning than the verb ἰσχύω, ὑγιαίνω implying holistic health and, sometimes, the notion of safety,[199] while ἰσχύω generally denotes physical strength. As well, the contrast of οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες with δικαίους, and οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες with ἁμαρτωλούς underlines the spiritual emphasis of this saying. Thus Jesus implies that his task is that of a spiritual physician (ἰατροῦ), bringing a change in thinking (μετάνοιαν) that will offer wholeness (ὑγιαίνοντες) to those who continually miss the mark (ἁμαρτωλούς). Thus this saying indicates the Lukan idea of the nature of Jesus' mission.

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193 Lk 5.31

194 See App. 7:7.

195 Mt 9.12, Mk 2.17. (Cf. Mt 9.9-13, Mk 2.13-17, Lk 5.27-32, and see above, 177-9.)

196 For example the synoptic parallel account of the healing of the leper (Mk 1.40-45; Mt 8.1-3; Lk 5.12-13).

197 ibid. and the incident at Nazareth (Mk 6.1-6; Mt 13.53-58; Lk 4.16-30).

198 For example the people reported to have been with Jesus, in the synoptic parallel account of the healing of Jairus' daughter (Mk 5.37; Mt 9.25; Lk 8.51).

199 See, for example, the Lukan use of ὑγιαίνοντα in his parable of the lost son (Lk 15.27).

Luke also uses a participle of ὑγιαίνω as the final description of the state of the centurion's slave.[200] The earlier healing words are spoken by the centurion. He uses διασώζω, when asking the Jewish elders to request Jesus' help, and later ἰάομαι, in a message sent through his friends. Jesus does not take any action, other than to marvel at the man's faith, faith that he had not found in Israel. However, those sent out to talk to Jesus find the slave ὑγιαίνοντα when they return to the house.[201] The slave had been ill, and about to die (κακῶς ἔχων ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν (7.2)).

Luke's final use of this form is found in the parable of the lost son.[202] There, a slave tells of the father's joy because he has received his son ὑγιαίνοντα, i.e. safe and sound. Later, the father attempts to explain his joy to his other son, explaining that his brother who was dead (νεκρός) and lost (ἀπολωλώς), has become alive (ἔζησεν), and been found (εὑρέθη). ζάω and νεκρός are similarly contrasted in the Lukan story of Paul's treatment of Eutychus in *Acts*.[203]

Elsewhere in the New Testament, ὑγιαίνω in participial form occurs adjectivally, four times qualifying διδασκαλία,[204] twice λόγος,[205] always

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200 Lk 7.10: the accusative singular masculine present active participle ὑγιαίνοντα. See App. 9:2.

201 Cf. *IG* IV^2 1, 122, 21 (App. 2:2, 21).

202 Lk 15.27

203 Acts 20.7-12

204 1 Timothy 1.10; 2 Timothy 4.3; Titus 1.9; Titus 2.1: (i) The dative singular feminine present active participle of ὑγιαίνω occurs three times in the New Testament, each time as an adjectival participle qualifying διδασκαλία. At 1 Timothy 1.10, it appears in an explanatory exposition on the use of the law, i.e. that the law is laid down for anything contrary to sound doctrine (τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ), according to the glorious gospel of the blessed God (κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μακαρίου θεοῦ). At Titus 1.9, the writer is expounding the qualities necessary in a bishop (ἐπίσκοπον): "He must hold firm to the believing word (πιστοῦ λόγου), as taught, so that he may be able to speak words of encouragement in sound teaching (ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ), and refute those who contradict it." And, again, at Titus 2.1, the writer commands Titus to "utter what befits sound teaching" (Σὺ δὲ λάλει ἃ πρέπει τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ).
(ii) The genitive feminine singular present active participle occurs only once, as an adjectival participle qualifying διδασκαλίας, at 2 Timothy 4.3. In this, the final use of ὑγιαίνω in *1* and *2 Timothy*, the writer warns that the time is coming when people will not endure sound teaching (τῆς ὑγιαινούσης διδασκαλίας), but will turn away from listening to the truth (τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἀκοήν), and wander into myths (τοὺς μύθους). Thus ὑγιαίνω, used as an adjectival participle in *1* and *2 Timothy*, implies pious teaching, teaching that is in accordance with the writer's interpretation of Jesus' gospel. This involves listening in faith (ἤκουσας ἐν πίστει (2 Tim. 1.13)).

205 (i) The dative plural masculine present active participle occurs only once, at 1 Timothy 6.3, as an adjectival participle qualifying λόγοις, words attributed to Jesus, and

referring to sound doctrine. Sound doctrine was supposed to produce sound faith, and the present tense of ὑγιαίνω is chosen by the author of Titus to express this idea.[206]

Finally, the present active infinitive ὑγιαίνειν occurs only once, in the opening salutation of the third letter of John to Gaius:

> "Beloved, I pray concerning all things that you are prospering and healthy, just as your soul prospers."[207]

In this use of ὑγιαίνω the author reflects Greek usage of this verb in personal letters.[208]

Thus of the twenty-two occurrences of the ὑγιαίνω ὑγιής family of words in the New Testament, nineteen are adjectival. Matthew uses ὑγιής in a physical sense, to describe sound limbs, which had formerly been maimed,[209] while Mark uses it only once, in a holistic sense, in Jesus' command to the haemorrhaging woman.[210] Luke uses ὑγιαίνω three times in his gospel, in participial form, to mean holistic health;[211] and ὑγιής once in *Acts* in a holistic sense.[212] John uses ὑγιής six times, in a holistic sense, in one healing story.[213] The present infinitive is also used in a holistic sense by the author of *3 John*.[214] Elsewhere forms of ὑγιαίνω

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linked to teaching which is pious (τῇ κατ' εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλία). Thus ὑγιαίνω as an adjectival participle in *1 Timothy* implies "pious" teaching, i.e. teaching which is thought to be in accordance with the teaching of Jesus.
(ii) The genitive plural masculine present active participle occurs only once, at 2 Timothy 1.13, as an adjectival participle qualifying λόγων in a command from Paul to Timothy to "keep the example of sound words which you have heard from me in faith (ὧν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας ἐν πίστει) and in the love (ἀγάπῃ) which is in Christ Jesus".

206 The present subjunctive third person plural occurs once, in a final clause expressing purpose, at Titus 1.13. The writer orders Titus to "rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith" (δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἔλεγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως, ἵνα ὑγιαίνωσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει). Again ὑγιαίνω and πίστις are linked, as at Titus 1.9, and 2 Timothy 1.13.

207 3 John 2

208 For example, Epicurus. See App. 3:5, 7 and 8.

209 Mt 12.13; 15.31; reflecting Greek usage in Asklepiadic literature.

210 Mk 5.34

211 Lk 5.31; 7.10; 15.27

212 Acts 4.10

213 Jn 5.6-23

214 3 John 2

always refer to sound teaching, sound doctrine, and sound faith, reflecting the doctrinal debate of the infant church.[215]

What then is the significance of a study of the language of healing for understanding the nature of the gospel portrayal of Jesus' commands and commissions?

[215] 1 Timothy 1.10; 6.3; 2 Timothy 1.13; 4.3; Titus 1.9; 1.13; 2.8. This is not the place to discuss the doctrinal debate of the infant church, or the "heresies" that were part of its growth. It is noticeable however that healing language was commandeered by the orthodox to its detriment, so that words like ὑγιαίνω and its derivatives, instead of referring to holistic health and thus promising life and hope, instead refer to doctrine and teaching, and the human element is lost.

Chapter Ten

Commands and commissions

All four gospel authors portray Jesus as commanding his disciples to undertake certain tasks.[1] The three synoptists report specific instructions as to how to go about their tasks,[2] and both Mark and Luke comment on the success of their venture.[3]

Matthew, Mark and Luke choose a string of present infinitives to record Jesus' commissioning of the disciples: ἐκβάλλειν... θεραπεύειν;[4] κηρύσσειν ... ἐκβάλλειν;[5] θεραπεύειν ... κηρύσσειν ... ἰᾶσθαι [τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς]).[6] The use of present infinitives by all three synoptists is significant. Jesus commands habitual action by the disciples, action that includes preaching, casting out unclean spirits, nurturing and loving service, and healing. Mark also includes the idea of companionship in his account.[7]

Luke is the only synoptist to include ἰάομαι in the disciples' mission. His use of ἰᾶσθαι occurs in conjunction with preaching (κηρύσσειν), after the disciples have been given authority and power (δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν) over all demons, and to treat diseases (νόσους θεραπεύειν). However, although Luke reports that Jesus sent the disciples out to ἰᾶσθαι, they are not reported as doing so in his gospel.[8] Thus his introduction of the verb here does not have a bearing on his gospel record of the disciples' ministry, but is important for the story of Peter's and Paul's gentile mission in *Acts*.[9] Luke is thus introducing a term that he wishes to use

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1 Mk 3.14-15; Mt 10.1, 5-8; Lk 9.1-2, 10.1. Cf. [Mk 16.14-18]; Mt 28.16-20; Lk 24.36-49; and Jn 20.19-23. Cf. also Mk 12.28-34; Mt 22.34-36; Lk 10.27 (10.25-37); and Jn 13.34-35

2 Mk 6.8-11; Mt 10.8-14; Lk 9.3-5, 10.4-12. Cf. *GT* #14

3 Mk 6.12-13; Lk 9.6, 10.17

4 Mt 10.1

5 Mk 3.14-15

6 Lk 9.1-2: note that the presence of τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς is disputed. However, it is integral to the Lukan use of ἰάομαι in conjunction with θεραπεύω; and ἰάομαι in Luke, in the middle voice, always has a direct object. ℵ A D L Ξ Ψ f^1 *et al.* all support the inclusion of τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. While there is an argument for supporting the shorter text (based on B and $syr^{c,s}$) Luke's use of ἰάομαι, and his obvious intention to link it in meaning with θεραπεύω (which is usually accompanied by τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς [see above, 148, and chapter seven, n.151]), all argue for the inclusion of τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. See Metzger (1975) 146-7.

7 Mk 3.14: ἵνα ὦσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ

8 Luke chooses θεραπεύω to describe the disciples' 'healing' activities (9.6).

9 See below, n.48, and App. 8:4.

later in a gentile context, and he needs the reader to understand that the command for this later activity came from Jesus himself. Thus audience once again becomes a critical factor in the compilation of the gospel story. The choice of the present tense by all three synoptists signifies an ongoing commission.

All three synoptists report that Jesus gave his disciples extensive instructions concerning their commission.[10] These commands included instructions of what to do, where to go, what to take with them, where to stay, and how to behave.

Mark simply reports again that Jesus gave the twelve authority over unclean spirits, and that he sent them out two by two;[11] Matthew and Luke extend these instructions by detailing the subject-matter of preaching (the imminence of the kingdom of heaven/God),[12] and Matthew has Jesus command the disciples to heal the sick,[13] raise the dead,[14] cleanse lepers,[15] and cast out demons.[16] Luke adds to the number of those to take part in the mission in his second account,[17] and records that Jesus told them to heal the sick in the towns that welcomed them, and to preach that the kingdom of God was near.[18]

The verb θεραπεύω occurs in the present imperative (2nd plural) in both *Matthew* and *Luke*, in these instructions.[19] In both instances the disciples are instructed to heal/treat the weak.[20] ἰάομαι is not included in either set of instructions, for different reasons. Matthew only uses ἰάομαι on specific occasions (out of the mouth of a gentile, to report gentile healings, or to quote the Septuagint),[21] whereas Luke is fond of the word, but careful where he uses it. In this instance its omission is significant.

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10 Mk 6.6-11; Mt 10.5-15; Lk 9.3-5; Lk 10. 4-12
11 Mk 6.7
12 Mt 10.7: ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν; Lk 10.9: ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ
13 Mt 10.8: ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε
14 Mt 10.8: νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε
15 Mt 10.8: λεπροὺς καθαρίζετε
16 Mt 10.8: δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλετε
17 Lk 10.1: seventy (-two)
18 Lk 10.8-9
19 Mt.10.8; Lk 10.9
20 Mt 10.8: ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε; Lk 10.9: καὶ θεραπεύετε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσθενεῖς.
21 See above, chapter eight, and Apps 8:3 and 8:4.

The Jewish Jesus is speaking to his Jewish disciples about their Jewish mission. While it is Matthew, not Luke, who records Jesus' instruction in his parallel passage that the disciples were not to go to the gentiles, nor any towns in Samaria, but only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,[22] Luke's omission of ἴάομαι makes it clear that this is a Jewish mission, even though his sending of those appointed ahead to every town and place where he was about to come leaves the question of destination ambiguous.[23]

It is interesting to compare the detailed instructions recorded in each account. Luke sends the twelve out, leaving their destination unspecified,[24] Mark sends the twelve two by two, also to unspecified destinations,[25] Matthew sends the twelve only to the lost sheep of Israel;[26] while Luke, in his second account, sends the seventy-two ahead of Jesus.[27] All three synoptists state that Jesus gave authority to the twelve, but Luke does not mention this in his account of the appointment of the seventy-two.[28]

Jesus is also reported as telling the disciples what to wear and what to take with them. In *Mark* they are to take nothing except the tunic they are wearing, sandals, and a staff.[29] Luke doesn't mention sandals, but forbids a staff in his instructions to the twelve,[30] and forbids sandals in his account of the instructions to the seventy-two,[31] while Matthew forbids both sandals and a staff![32] All synoptists agree that the disciples were instructed not to take any bread, spare clothing, a bag or any money.[33]

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22 Mt 10.5
23 Lk 10.1
24 Lk 9.2
25 Mk 6.7
26 Mt 10.5
27 Lk 10.1
28 Mk 6.7; Mt 10.1; and Lk 9.1: ἐξουσία. Cf. Lk 10.1
29 Mk 6.8-9
30 Lk 9.3
31 Lk 10.4
32 Mt 10.10
33 Mk 6.8-9; Mt 10.9-10; Lk 9.3; cf. Lk 10.4

Both Matthew and Luke give the same reason: that the labourer deserves his food/wages.[34]

The mission presupposes an activity (which might take time, and certainly required effort) and a result. The activity included preaching, the expulsion of demons, and healing; the result, a change in the people encountered. However, of the proposed activities, preaching was to come first. For if any place did not welcome them,[35] and listen to them,[36] then the disciples were not to stay, but to shake the dust of that place off their feet when they left it, as a testimony against it.[37] Thus healing (and any other labouring activity) is dependent on the people being prepared to offer hospitality to the disciples, and on their being open to and hearing the message.

Mark has little to say about the type of hospitality to be offered, nor has Luke in his parallel account.[38] However Matthew's instructions (and the instructions in Luke's second account) are more elaborate.[39] All three synoptists agree that when the disciples enter a place they should stay in the one place until they depart.[40] Matthew adds that, after entering any place they should first find out who is worthy in that place, and stay with that worthy person until they depart.[41] Luke is more prosaic: he instructs those sent out to remain in the same house, eating and drinking whatever is provided![42] Both Matthew and Luke record sayings about the greetings to be offered and received, and comment on the 'peace' (εἰρήνη) to be bestowed (or withheld, as the case may be) upon the places they enter.[43] Both Matthew and Luke add the warning about Sodom (and Gomorrah) upon those who do not welcome the disciples.[44]

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34 Mt 10.10: ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ; cf. Lk 10.7: ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ. This implies that their mission activities will be recognised as 'work' by their hosts.

35 Mk 6.11; Mt 10.14; Lk 9.5

36 Mk 6.11; Mt 10.14

37 Mk 6.11; Mt 10.14; Lk 9.5; Lk 10.11

38 Mk 6.7-13; Lk 9.1-6

39 Mt 10.5-15; Lk 10.1-12. Thus it becomes obvious that of Luke's two accounts, the first (9.1-6) is parallel to Mk 6.7-13; while the second (10.1-12) is parallel to Mt 10.5-15.

40 Mk 6.10; Mt 10.11; Lk 9.4; Lk 10.7

41 Mt 10.11

42 Lk 10.7

43 Lk 10. 4-6; Mt 10.12-13

44 Mt 10.15 (Matthew adds Gomorrah); Lk 10.12

Only Mark and Luke record the results of the disciples' venture. Luke chooses two present participles to describe the response of the twelve: εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ;[45] and the present tense to describe the the exclamation of the seventy-two: καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ἡμὶν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου![46] Mark chooses the imperfect tense to describe the disciples' healing activity:

> "And after going out they preached that people should repent, and they began casting out many demons, and used to anoint with oil many who were weak and began healing [them] (καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν ἵνα μετανοῶσιν, καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ ἐξέβαλλον, καὶ ἤλειφον ἐλαίῳ πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους καὶ ἐθεράπευον.)"[47]

Matthew is silent on this point. It is noteworthy that Luke chooses to describe the disciples' healing activities in terms of θεραπεύω, when they were commissioned to both θεραπεύειν and ἰᾶσθαι. His omission of ἰάομαι when describing the disciples' response is significant. It is an accurate use of the word, for the disciples were ministering only to Jewish people at this stage.[48] Luke, in other places, when describing the activity of Jesus,[49] is careful to use θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι contiguously, so that both the Jewish and the gentile members of his audience would understand his portrait of the healing Jesus.

Thus there is substantial agreement in the synoptic account of Jesus' commission and instructions to the disciples: they were to preach (κηρύσσω), heal (θεραπεύω) and exorcise (ἐκβάλλω), probably only among the Jews. That these activities are time-consuming is also explicit. Luke comments that the harvest is plentiful, but the labourers few,[50] Matthew that the labourer deserves his food,[51] while Luke notes that a labourer deserves his wages.[52] Thus there is the notion of 'work' in these

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45 Lk 9.6

46 Lk 10.17

47 Mk 6.12-13. See above, chapter seven.

48 The only occasions Luke chooses ἰάομαι to report healing activity by 'disciples' of Jesus is in *Acts*, where he reports the activity of both Peter (Acts 9.34) and Paul (Acts 28.8) in a gentile context. However, only Paul shares the same verbal form with Jesus. See App. 8:4.

49 Luke 6.17-19; 8.43-48; 9.11; 14.1-6

50 Lk 10.2

51 Mt 10.10

52 Lk 10.7

instructions, a notion that we have already noticed, and which the author of John makes explicit.[53]

What commands does John record Jesus as having given? The author of John sums up Jesus' commands in a 'new' commandment:

> " ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους· καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους. ἐν τούτῳ γνώσονται πάντες ὅτι ἐμοὶ μαθηταί ἐστε, ἐὰν ἀγάπην ἔχητε ἐν ἀλλήλοις. (I give to you a new commandment, that you love one another; even as I have loved you, that you also love one another. By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another.)"[54]

This command follows the example of loving service that Jesus gave the disciples when he washed their feet.[55] Thus the notion of selfless service is implicit in ἀγαπάω, and as in the synoptic gospels, John chooses the present imperative (an ongoing commission) to record this command.

The synoptists also present their version of this command. Both Mark and Matthew choose to present it as their final issue between Jesus and the authorities, while Luke makes it a central issue in his gospel, and illustrates it with the parable of the Good Samaritan.[56] In Mark's and Matthew's account of this incident Jesus is asked what he considers to be the most important commandment,[57] while in Luke's account Jesus is asked what should be done to inherit eternal life.[58] In each gospel the question is presented as an issue, in *Mark* the antagonist being a scribe, in *Matthew* a lawyer who was also a Pharisee, and in *Luke* a lawyer.[59] The command is presented as a command to love God with all one's heart, mind, soul and strength, and one's neighbour as oneself.[60] It is Luke who includes the parable of the Good Samaritan as an example of love in

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53 Jn 5.17; 9.4: ἐργάζομαι (see above, 158-60).

54 Jn 13.34-5. Cf. Mt 22.34-46; 25.35-6; Mk 12.28-34; Lk 10.25-37

55 Jn 13.1-20

56 Mk 12.28-34; Mt 22.34-40; Lk 10.25-37. See App. 7:7 for an analysis of the synoptic portrayal of issues and antagonists: issue 13 in *Mark* and *Matthew*; issue 7 in *Luke*.

57 Mk 12.28: the 'first' (ἐντολὴ πρώτη); Mt 22.36: the 'great' (ἐντολὴ μεγάλη).

58 Lk 10.25: τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;

59 Mk 12.28; Mt 22.35: [νομικός]; Lk 10.25. It probably goes without saying that a lawyer is a Pharisee!

60 Mk 12.30-31; Mt 22.37-9; Lk 10.27

action, and an example of the type of recipient (neighbour). The omission of θεραπεύω from this story makes it obvious that the verb does not only describe medical treatment. Instead of θεραπεύω Luke chooses ἐπιμελέομαι to describe the care and attention the Samaritan gave to the wounded man.[61] The Samaritan provided medical care by pouring onto his wounds a mixture of oil and wine, a treatment advocated by Hippokrates,[62] and then made arrangements for his convalescent costs and physical care. Thus the Samaritan provided excellent physical care for the man, but did not provide long-term emotional or spiritual care. This is not surprising. Luke chose an unlikely candidate for the role of protagonist in this story to emphasise that the concept of 'neighbour' should not be limited by prejudice of any sort. However it would have been unthinkable that this man could also provide spiritual support in a Jewish context, hence the absence of spiritual terms in the story. Luke concludes the story with Jesus' command to the lawyer to: "Go and do likewise (πορεύου καὶ σὺ ποίει ὁμοίως)!"[63] The present imperatives command habitual action.[64]

Mark does not illustrate this command although he does make Jesus tell the scribe that he is not far from the kingdom of God (οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ),[65] echoing Luke's instruction to the seventy-two to heal (θεραπεύετε) the sick where they were given hospitality, and to tell their hosts that the kingdom of God had come near to them.[66] Thus there is a link between θεραπεύων and ἀγαπῶν behaviour, in that both involve the propinquity of the kingdom.

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61 Lk 10.34. See Isocrates, *Aegineticus* 11, 20-33, where a distinction is made between different types of nursing care, and above, chapter three, 55-7, for a discussion. Overall long-term emotional, physical and psychological care is described by θεραπεύω, the physical attention to detail inherent in this by ἐπιμελεία (28). Here, while the Samaritan shows great attention to physical detail, and to initial medical treatment, he provides for the man's convalescent care to be carried out by others (10.35).

62 Hippokrates, *Morb. Mul.* 656. This would have the effect of cleaning the wounds, providing a barrier against infection, and preventing bandaging from sticking to the wounds. See above, chapter seven, 136-8.

63 Lk 10.37

64 The command πορεύου is the same as the command given to the haemorrhaging woman (Lk 8.48: πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην), and is reminiscent of the Old Testament commands (Deuteronomy 10.12-13) to fear the Lord God, and to walk in all his ways (πορεύεσθαι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς), to love him (ἀγαπᾶν αὐτόν), and to serve (λατρεύειν) the Lord God out of one's whole heart (ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας) and whole soul (ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς). See Septuagint (1887) 364 for the text, and Campbell (1989) 39-41 for a discussion.

65 Mk 12.34

66 Lk 10.9

Like Mark, Matthew does not illustrate the command, but he does (later) make Jesus describe the sort of behaviour of those who would inherit a place in the kingdom. His description has parallels with the behaviour exhibited by Luke's Samaritan: providing food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, a welcome for strangers, clothing for the naked, and visiting those who are sick or in prison,[67] i.e. love in action.

By the end of each gospel, the synoptists envisage a different mission. Matthew's mission now consists of teaching and baptising and includes all nations, who are to be made disciples;[68] Luke's mission is to preach repentance and forgiveness to all nations in Jesus' name.[69] Mark's longer (spurious) ending also features preaching.[70] The verb θεραπεύω is notably absent from these commands.

It is a valuable exercise at this point to consider the positive commands that are recorded in the *Gospel of Thomas*, a gnostic text that has aroused considerable interest because of its similarities and differences in form and content when compared with the canonical gospels.[71] In the *Gospel of Thomas* the instances where Jesus recommends behaviour in a positive sense are extremely rare. Most instructions are given in a negative manner - "Do not . . . "- and these are continually reinforced by the message to deny the world and "Become passers-by!"[72] However, comfort is offered in a positive way:

> "Come unto me, for my Yoke is easy and my Lordship is mild, and you will find repose for yourselves."[73]

Given then the negative nature of the instructions in the *Gospel of Thomas*, those given in a positive way gain significance:

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67 Mt 25.35-40
68 Mt 28.16-20
69 Lk 24.36-49
70 Mk 16.14-18
71 The *Gospel of Thomas* is a collection of unrelated sayings of Jesus, many of which have parallels in the synoptic gospels. Thus the *Gospel of Thomas* appears similar to the sayings source proposed by scholars as a common source for material found in *Matthew* and *Luke*, and known as 'Q'. See Montefiore (1960-1); Walls (1960-1); Koester in Robinson (1981) 117; and Pagels (1981) xiii-xvi.
72 *GT* #42
73 *GT* #90

> "When you go into any land and walk about in the districts, if they receive you, eat what they set before you, and heal (θεραπεύειν) the sick among them..."[74]
>
> "Love your brother like your soul (ψυχή), guard (τηρεῖν) him like the pupil of your eye...",[75] and,
>
> "Preach from your housetops that which you hear in your ear...".[76]

The emphasis, as in the canonical gospels, is on healing and loving and preaching. The destination is an indeterminate "any land". But what does θεραπεύω mean in this context? It is most unlikely that the term refers only to physical healing, if it has any physical connotation at all, for, in common with many other gnostic texts, the *Gospel of Thomas* shows a definite revulsion for the flesh, and, by implication, bodily needs and function.[77] Indeed, amazement is expressed that spirit, potentially so beautiful, should be housed in such poverty:

> "If the flesh came into being because of spirit, it is a wonder. But if spirit came into being because of the body, it is a wonder of wonders. Indeed, I am amazed at how this great wealth has made its home in this poverty."[78]

There is revulsion and disgust expressed for the body, the same revulsion as is expressed for the contamination of worldly matter.[79] In contrast, there is a constant call to recognise the spark of divinity within (spirit/soul) and to nurture its growth.[80] Thus the focus in this text is spiritual. And we have seen how θεραπεύω in a spiritual and teaching context refers to a change in thinking (conversion) in the canonical gospels, particularly in a Jewish setting. But that the *Gospel of Thomas*

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74 *GT* #14. All Greek references are from the *Gospel of Thomas* in New Testament (1988) 517-30.

75 *GT* #25

76 *GT* #33

77 See, for example, *GT* #87: "Wretched is the body that is dependent on a body, and wretched is the soul that is dependent on these two"; and *GT* #112: "Woe to the flesh that depends on the soul, woe to the soul that depends on the flesh".

78 *GT* #29

79 For example, *GT* #27: "If you do not fast as regards the world, you will not find the Kingdom"; and *GT* #56: "Whoever has come to understand the world has found (only) a corpse, and whoever has found a corpse is superior to the world".

80 For example, *GT* #89: "Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not realise that he who made the inside is the same who made the outside?" and *GT* #24: "There is light within a man of light, and he (or it) lights up the whole world"; and *GT* #49: "Blessed are the solitary and elect, for you will find the Kingdom. For you are from it, and to it you will return".

was not written for an exclusively Jewish audience seems obvious, for in reply to the question, "Is circumcision beneficial or not?" Jesus replied,

> "If it were beneficial, their father would beget them already circumcised from their mother. Rather, the true circumcision in spirit has become completely profitable."[81]

It is interesting that the question should have come up at all, and that it is answered in this way is significant. The emphasis is again on the spirit, on the excision of worldly matter (the foreskin) in a spiritual sense only. As well, this instruction refers to "any land" and θεραπεύειν is dependent, as in the canonical gospels, on the welcome and hospitality of the inhabitants. That this is most likely to happen among strangers is indicated by the saying:

> "No prophet is accepted in his own village; no physician heals (θεραπεύειν) those who know him."[82]

Thus the verb θεραπεύω in this document, a document which focuses on spiritual enlightenment, and in which affairs of the world and the flesh are constantly denigrated, must be understood to imply conversion to a different way of thinking, a way of thinking that will bring repose for the soul. In this it reflects the use of θεραπεύω in the canonical gospels in a teaching context, and also the use of θεραπεύω by authors such as Epicurus[83] and Marcus Aurelius.[84]

So what can we conclude about the use of Greek healing language in an early Christian context?

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81 *GT* #53
82 *GT* #31
83 App. 3:5, 1
84 App. 5:7, 3, 6

Conclusion

A study of the use of Greek healing language in the New Testament shows that the gospel authors use the verbs ἰάομαι, ὑγιαίνω, σῴζω, θεραπεύω and their derivatives in a variety of ways to depict the healing ministry of Jesus of Nazareth.

ἰάομαι

ἰάομαι only occurs twenty-six times in the New Testament in verbal form, and of these twenty-six, fifteen are Lukan usages.[1] Matthew only uses ἰάομαι four times, once quoting the Septuagint,[2] and three other times in two healing stories, always in the passive voice, and always to describe instantaneous *in absentia* healings of gentiles, which occurred as a result of 'parental' requests made in faith.[3] Mark only uses ἰάομαι once, to describe the self-perception of the haemorrhaging woman, but, like Matthew's stories of the centurion's 'boy' and the Canaanite woman's daughter, ἰάομαι describes instantaneous healing as a result of the intervention of God, intervention brought about by faith so great it causes Jesus to comment.[4] Thus the Markan and Matthaean use of ἰάομαι mirrors its use in the healing language of the Greek world and the Septuagint, in that both gospel authors choose it to describe the intervention of God.[5]

The Lukan use of ἰάομαι is different.[6] Luke needed the notion of 'cure' in a healing word, and θεραπεύω in the Greek world (and in the Septuagint and the writings of Josephus) referred to human treatment which might or might not be successful.[7] As we have seen ἰάομαι is the God-word in

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1 See Apps 8:3 and 8:4.

2 Mt 13.15 (cf. App. 6:1, 62)

3 Mt 8.8, 8.13; 15.28

4 Mk 5.29. It may be significant that the Markan woman (Mk 5.25-34), the centurion's 'boy' (Mt 8.5-13) and the Canaanite woman's daughter (Mt 15.21-8) were all outsiders: the woman because she was 'unclean', the others because they were not Jewish. Matthew chooses the third person passive; the Jewish way of describing the activity of God without mentioning the divine name (see Wilcox [1965] 127-8; Beare [1981] 129; Wilcox [1984] 1017). Mark uses the third person perfect indicative middle in a passive sense. See App. 8:4.

5 See App. 6:1, and chapter six for the use of ἰάομαι in the Septuagint; and Part One for the use of ἰάομαι in the healing language surrounding Greek asklepieia.

6 See Apps 7:3, 8:1, 8:2, 8:3 and 8:4.

7 For the Greek world: App.4:1, **1-10, 13-24**; Thucydides 2.47-55; Isocrates, *Aegineticus* 11, 20-9; the Septuagint: App. 6:1; Josephus: App. 6:2, **15, 31, 34**.

the Septuagint,[8] and also describes the intervention of Asklepios at Greek healing centres.[9] It thus includes the notion of 'cure' in its meaning, and hints at the source: in both the Septuagint and at asklepieia healing was of divine origin. However the verb ἰάομαι does not include the notion of 'service', so vital to the gospel message. Thus Luke, because his audience was of differing cultural and social origins, needed to use words which were both familiar to his audience and also conveyed the meaning he intended. Thus the nature of Luke's audience dictated his use of ἰάομαι. Because he needed the notion of 'cure' but also needed the notion of 'service' and wanted to invest both with a spiritual meaning, Luke chose to use ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω contiguously.[10] And although he reports that Jesus gave authority to his disciples to both θεραπεύειν and ἰᾶσθαι, the only 'disciples' to ἰᾶσθαι were Peter and Paul in a gentile context,[11] while the disciples' actions in a Jewish context are reported by the verb θεραπεύω.[12] In a Jewish context it is only the activity of Jesus that is described by both verbs, and then Luke is careful to use them contiguously.[13] Thus audience dictates the language of the gospel message. Audience also dictates the nature of the message. As Luke uses the God-word in his portrait of the healing Jesus, so also he stresses the importance of 'signs' and 'wonders' and their results: amazement, fear and mass conversion.[14]

John is sparing with his use of ἰάομαι, using it only twice in healing stories, and once to quote the Septuagint.[15] Elsewhere the verb refers to right doctrine or correct Christian practice.[16] Thus the verb becomes sterile as soon as it is removed from the gospel story.

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8 See App. 6:1.

9 See Apps 2:1, 2:2, and 3:2, 5.

10 See Apps 7:3, 8:1.

11 Luke needed the God-word to explain the healing of Aeneas, but Peter is careful to explain the spiritual context (Acts 9.32-5); similarly Luke needed the God-word to explain the healing of Publius' father (Acts 28.7-8: but note that Publius had fulfilled all hospitality requirements [Mt 10.11-14; Mk 6.8-11; Lk 9.1-6, 10.4-9; *GT* #14], and that Luke is careful to choose θεραπεύω to describe the following general healing episode [Acts 28.9]).

12 Lk 9.6

13 Lk 6.17-19; 8.43-48; 9.11; 14.1-6

14 Acts 3.1-4.31; 4.30; 5.12-16; 8.6-8; 9.32-35; 9.36-43; 16.16-18 (see Apps 8:1 and 8:2).

15 In healing stories: Jn 4.47; 5.13. To quote the Septuagint: Jn 12.40 (cf. Mt 13.15; Acts 28.27, and Isaiah 6.10 [App. 6:1, 62]).

16 Hebrews 12.13; James 5.16; 1 Peter 2.24. See Apps 8:3 and 8:4.

ὑγιαίνω

The use of the verb ὑγιαίνω and its derivatives is similar in that gospel and epistle usage differs dramatically.[17] In *Matthew* the adjectival form faithfully reflects its use and meaning as illustrated in inscriptions from the asklepieia in the Greek world,[18] while in *Mark* it appears in a parting command to the haemorrhaging woman out of the mouth of Jesus.[19] Here too it reflects the closing formulae of Greek inscriptions.[20] Luke too chooses it in a remarkably similar context to an inscription from Epidauros.[21] John uses it six times in one highly symbolic story.[22] Elsewhere in the New Testament, ὑγιαίνω suffers the same fate as ἰάομαι: it becomes sterile, describing doctrine and teaching.[23]

σῴζω

The verb σῴζω appears in many different contexts in the New Testament: in a nautical context as in Greek literature,[24] in a theological context,[25] and in healing stories.[26] It is only with the last that we have been concerned. Here it retains the Homeric notion of rescue and successful treatment.[27] Mark uses it to describe incidents which involve patients who reach out and touch Jesus in faith,[28] or to record Jesus' words linking salvation and faith in a healing context.[29] He also uses it in the story of Jairus' daughter,[30] and introduces it in the language of the

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17 See App. 9:2.

18 Mt 12.13; 15.31. Cf. Apps 2:1, 3 and 2:2, 36, 37 and 38 where ὑγιής refers to the restoration of crippled or paralysed body parts.

19 Mk 5.34

20 See especially Apps 2:1 and 2:2.

21 Lk 7.10: cf. App. 2:2, 21. (Cf. also Lk 15.27)

22 Jn 5.4-15; 7.23

23 1 Timothy 1.10, 6.3; 2 Timothy 1.13, 4.3; Titus 1.9, 13; 2.1, 8. However the verb is used in a holistic sense by the author of 3 John 2. See App. 9:2.

24 Mt 8.25: σῶσον out of the mouths of the disciples, in Matthew's account of Jesus' calming of the storm at sea (8.23-27). Neither Mark (4.35-41) nor Luke (8.22-25) use σῴζω in this story. Matthew also puts this form into Peter's mouth (14.30), addressing Jesus, when he tries to walk on water. In both these episodes σῴζω means to *rescue and preserve*, a meaning of σῴζω explicit in Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides (see Part One: chapters one and three; and chapter three, n. 65). Cf. Acts 27.43,44 where Luke also uses διασῴζω in a nautical context.

25 See Foerster and Fohrer in Kittel *et al.* (1971) 965-1024.

26 There is naturally some overlapping in these categories, but see Apps 7:10 and 7:11.

27 From danger and imminent death (see Apps 7:10 and 7:11).

28 The haemorrhaging woman: Mk 5.28-34; the crowd at Gennesaret: Mk 6.56

29 To the haemorrhaging woman: Mk 5.34; to blind Bartimaeus: Mk 10.52

30 Mk 5.23

controversial sabbath healings.[31] Matthew only chooses σῴζω to describe patients who reach out and touch Jesus in faith,[32] and to record Jesus' words linking salvation and faith in one incident.[33] Luke introduces this saying - ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε - in more stories in his gospel,[34] retains σῴζω in the sabbath controversy,[35] as well as introducing it into healing stories in *Acts*.[36] An outstanding feature of this word group is the company it keeps. It usually appears with forms of πίστις and/or ἅπτομαι.[37]

Indeed ἅπτομαι is the most popular 'touching' verb in healing stories, and describes the touch of those who reach out in faith, and also the healing touch of Jesus.[38] In this its use reflects the language used to describe the healing touch of Asklepios.[39]

θεραπεύω

However the most interesting verb in this study is θεραπεύω, which has emerged from the cognate form found in Homer, to include all the characteristics of the Homeric θεράπων in its verbal meaning. Thus it includes the ideas of selfless service,[40] loyalty,[41] love,[42] and nurture[43] in its meaning, and, depending on its context, can range in meaning from medical treatment[44] to persuasion.[45] Context is the crucial factor. Always therapeutic behaviour is active in that it is designed to bring

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31 Mk 3.4

32 The haemorrhaging woman: Mt 9.20-22; the crowd at Gennesaret: 14.36

33 To the haemorrhaging woman: Mt 9.22

34 Like Matthew and Mark, Luke uses σῴζω in Jesus' saying to the haemorrhaging woman (Lk 8.48); but also to the blind beggar (Lk 18.42: parallel to Mk 10.52); and to the leper (Lk 17.19).

35 Lk 6.9

36 Acts 4.9, 12; 14.9

37 See Apps 7:10 and 7:11.

38 See Apps 7:12 and 7:13.

39 For example, see App 2:2, 31; App. 2:4, line 23.

40 Thucydides 2.47-55; Isocrates, *Aegineticus* 11, 20-9.

41 Isocrates, *Aegineticus* 11, 20-9.

42 ibid.

43 Aristides (App. 5:6, 29).

44 For example, see Apps 2:1, 20; 2:2, 26; 4:1; 5:5, 7.

45 See Apps 5:6, 40; 5:7, 3; and Epictetus 1.19 where θεραπεύω appears illustrating a wide range in meaning.

about a change in either circumstances or behaviour,[46] and because of its nature its aspect is continuous.[47]

The verb θεραπεύω occurs forty-three times in verbal form in the New Testament, making it the most popular verb in a healing context.[48] In this it differs from the incidence of its use in Asklepiadic literature.[49] It is a synoptic word in that it occurs thirty-five times in the synoptic gospels, and five times in *Acts*. Elsewhere it occurs only once in *John*, and twice in *Revelation*. In the gospels it describes the activity of both Jesus and the disciples.[50] This reflects its use in the Septuagint where it is the human-word, in contrast to ἰάομαι which is the God-word.[51]

All three synoptists consistently designate Jesus' behaviour as preaching, teaching and θεραπεύων-behaviour,[52] and in controversial sabbath healings the authorities are invariably depicted as thinking of healing in terms of θεραπεύω.[53] Therefore θεραπεύων-behaviour must involve 'work'.[54] But this is the description often given to Jesus' behaviour in crowds, and is usually linked with the activities of preaching and teaching.[55] People come to hear (ἀκούω) and the result is that they ἐθεραπεύοντο.[56] Thus θεραπεύων-behaviour has to be the practical expression of Jesus' preaching and teaching message, behaviour that produces an effect: a change in thinking which in turn alters one's way of life.[57] Thus the verb θεραπεύω provides a practical expression for living the new commandment: in a medical context involving work and worry, time and energy; in a teaching context involving a change in one's thinking which in turn produces a change in one's way of life. Always the aspect of θεραπεύω is continuous.

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46 For a change in health: App. 4:1, **1-10, 13-24**; for a change in behaviour: App. 5:7, **6**.
47 See chapters three and four.
48 See Apps 7:8 and 7:9. Cf. Apps 7:10, 7:11, 8:3, 8:4 and 9:2.
49 Cf. Apps 2:1, 2:2, 3:2.
50 The disciples: Mk 6.13; Lk 9.6
51 See App. 6:1.
52 For example, Mk. 6.5; Mk 10.1 cf. Mt 19.2; Mt 4.23, 9.35; Lk 5.15, 6.18. See Apps 7:1, 7:2, 7:3, 7:8.
53 Mk 3.1-6; Mt12.9-14; Lk 6.6-11, 13.10-17, (14.1-6)
54 See Lk 13.14 and cf. Jn 5.1-18.
55 For example, see Mt 4.23, 9.35, 12.22, 21.14; Lk 5.15, 6.6-11, 6.18 and cf. Mk 10.1; Mt 19.2
56 Lk 6.18
57 Lk 5.29-32

The gospel authors tried to present Jesus as a healer *par excellence*, but when one studies the terms they used it becomes obvious that the healing they had in mind was primarily of a spiritual nature. In crowd scenes the emphasis is always spiritual, and even in specific healings there is the notion of discipleship, faith, and peace in the result.[58] Thus there is a strong element of persuasion in the verb θεραπεύω, so that it appears to describe conversion.[59] The result of 'conversion' is inclusion in the new community. And like the Homeric θεράπων, those 'converted' enjoyed "the psychological values and satisfactions that went with belonging".[60] Therefore it is a mistake to give a physical emphasis to the use of θεραπεύω in a spiritual and teaching context.

As the healing language under consideration has been most prominent in the synoptic authors, so an unexpected result of this study has been the obvious differences revealed in the interest, audience and proclamation of each synoptist. Despite the fact that there appears to be a general acceptance of the idea that Luke was the most interested in medical matters,[61] a study of the use of healing language shows that Mark has far more interest in things medical than Matthew or Luke. For example, it is Mark who provides the most professional case history of the epileptic boy,[62] it is Mark who mentions the medical practice of anointing with oil,[63] it is Mark who describes the medical practice of using saliva for eye complaints,[64] it is Mark who gives the most detail concerning the background of the haemorrhaging woman,[65] and it is Mark who tells the parents of the sick girl to give her something to eat.[66] As well Mark has

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58 For example, the Lukan women (8.2-3)

59 See above, chapter seven.

60 Finley (1954) 54-5

61 See, for example, the works of Hobart (1882); Ramsay (1908); Harnack (1911); Cadbury (1958) and (1969); Kelsey (1973); Wilkinson (1980) and Maddocks (1981).

62 Mk 9.14-29 (cf. Mt 17.14-20; Lk 9.37-43)

63 Mk 6.13

64 Mk 8.22-6. John (9.1-7) also mentions that Jesus made clay with spittle and anointed the eyes of the man born blind.

65 Mk 5.25-6: she had had a flow of blood for twelve years, she had suffered much under many doctors, she had spent all she had, she was no better but rather grew worse.

66 Mk 5.43. Wilcox (1989) 1, argues that this is "not a 'raising from the dead' - despite the fact that the three Evangelists who record the story all seem to interpret it as such, but rather the lifting of the patient out of a coma, and one possibly due to hypoglycaemia of some sort". Wilcox bases his argument on the evidence for 'Talitha' being the name of the girl in her home-language; the comments of Jesus that she was in a 'deep sleep'; and his instruction to give her something to eat immediately (necessary treatment after

often been criticised for his use of Greek, and his penchant for the historic tense,[67] and yet it is Mark who carefully differentiates between the disciples' and Jesus' healing practices by using the imperfect tense to describe the disciples' actions,[68] and crowd effects,[69] and the aorist to describe Jesus' actions.[70] Therefore Mark is particular in his use of tense.

Matthew, rather than removing the so-called 'magical' element in Mark's healing stories,[71] has carefully categorised them,[72] describing different types of healing in different language,[73] even duplicating stories[74] and adding numbers in places.[75] In this way Matthew's choice of healing terms shows that he both knew and used Mark's material. Thus the gospel of Mark is prior to the gospel of Matthew. Indeed in *Matthew* the human element so obvious in Mark's parallel healing stories diminishes, as they become type-cast.[76] Matthew is very careful to differentiate between Jesus' and God's healing activity, choosing ἰάομαι in the passive to describe the intervention of God in the cases of gentile healings,[77] and θεραπεύω in the passive voice to describe the intervention of God in the healing of the epileptic boy.[78] Otherwise he uses θεραπεύω in the active voice to describe Jesus' behaviour, particularly with crowds.[79] Thus,

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arousal from a hypoglycaemic coma). This instruction seems a remarkably rational one, and directly contradicts Hull (1974) 75 who states: "Whatever the actual physical value of the advice given by Jesus to sufferers, it is never ostensibly rational, in striking contrast to the cures of Asclepius and Apollonius of Tyana, who sometimes prescribed exercise, bathing or diet".

67 Even as recently as Sanders and Davies (1989) 266, who state: "Mark is written in Greek, but no one would want to claim that it evinces literary pretensions. The limited vocabulary, repetition of phraseology, all-too-frequent use of *kai* (and), of participles, of the historic present, the Aramaisms, the Hebraisms and the Latinisms combine to show that this is a 'popular' not a 'literary' work".

68 Mk 6.13

69 Mk 6.56 (cf. Mt 14.36). But see Lk 6.17-19

70 Mk 1.34; 3.10; 6.5

71 Hull (1974) 144

72 See above, 132-3.

73 For general healing: θεραπεύω plus a general statement; for gentile *in absentia* specific healings requested in faith: ἰάομαι in the passive; for the touch of a patient made in faith: ἅπτομαι . . . σῴζω; for Jesus' touch: ἅπτομαι, κρατέω. For a discussion see chapters seven, eight and nine.

74 Cf. Mt 9.27-31; Mt 20.29-34

75 Cf. Mk 10.46-52; Mt 20.29-34; Lk 18.35-43

76 For example, the background information given concerning the haemorrhaging woman, and the epileptic boy.

77 Mt 8.5-13; 15.21-8

78 Mt 17.14-20

79 Mt 4.23, 4.24, 8.16, 9.35, 12.15, 12.22, 14.14, 15.30, 19.2, 21.14

although there is a commission at the end of Matthew's gospel to preach to the gentiles[80] (perhaps a later 'church' addition?), Matthew's choice of healing language illustrates an early gentile-Jewish controversy, in that Matthew appears anxious to 'explain' the healing of gentile patients. Thus Matthew's gospel appears to have been written originally for a primarily Jewish audience.[81]

Luke in contrast tries to appeal to people of both sexes of differing cultural and social origins.[82] His choice of stories,[83] and patients,[84] casts a wide net for reader-response, and the extra detail in many seems designed to elicit sympathy from the reader.[85] Thus many of these extra details, often ascribed to an interest in things medical,[86] actually elicit a sympathetic identification-response in the reader, and so invite the reader to participate in Luke's message. As well Luke chooses characters of both sexes, of varying ages and stations in life, and in this way tries for universal appeal. Certainly his method has stood the test of time. Perhaps he was a physician, but, like the other synoptists his message emphasises spiritual healing. Certainly he emphasises mass events that seem to describe spiritual conversion.

A study of healing language has revealed much about human nature and human striving for health and happiness. Before the advent of Christianity, the Greek god Asklepios initially provided help for physical problems,[87] but over the centuries Asklepios also came to fulfil a need for a personal 'Saviour',[88] and provided emotional,[89] psychological[90] and

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80 Mt 28.16-20

81 This is not only obvious from healing stories. Beare (1981) 126 says of Matthew's version of the beatitudes: "All the beatitudes, and indeed the entire sermon, take it for granted that attainment of entrance to the kingdom of heaven is the supreme goal of life, and that there is no serious alternative. Such an assumption could only be made in a Jewish community."

82 See above, 141-3.

83 ibid.

84 ibid.

85 For example, the widow of Nain's 'only' son (Lk 7.12); Jairus' 'only' daughter (Lk 8.42).

86 For example, the information that the fever of Simon's mother-in-law was 'high' (Lk 4.38) makes a 'better' story by heightening the element of the miraculous; and the information that 'right' hand of the man with the withered hand was the one affected (Lk 6.6) also heightens the miraculous effect of the story (if we assume that most of the population at that time was right-handed, as is the case now).

87 See Apps 2:1, 2:2, 3:2.

88 See Apps 2:4, 2:5, 5:6.

spiritual healing as well.[91] In this way he was very much a fore-runner of and contemporary with Jesus of Nazareth. It is thus easy to see why Christian apologists attacked the cult of Asklepios with such vehemence.[92]

The healing language of both was similar, in that the same general healing terms were applied to healings of both traditions. However, while the same terms were used, the incidence of verb groups differs. The θεραπεύω ἰάομαι ὑγιαίνω word groups are popular in an inverse proportion in both traditions.[93] It is significant that the synoptists, particularly Mark and Matthew, describe Jesus' activities and behaviour with the verb θεραπεύω. In Asklepiadic literature as well as the Septuagint, this verb group more frequently describes human treatment or service,[94] whereas ἰάομαι describes the action of both Asklepios and the Septuagint god.[95] Thus both Mark and Matthew describe Jesus as a son of God, rather than God in human form.[96] It is Luke who describes Jesus' activities with the pagan and Septuagint God-word,[97] and John who spells out the relationship in philosophical terms.[98]

Thus while θεραπεύω and ἰάομαι can overlap slightly in meaning they are not synonymous, and there is an aspectual quality implicit in each that is important for our understanding of them. As ἰάομαι is consistently the

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89 ibid.

90 ibid.

91 App. 5:6, 9 and 10.

92 Justin, *Apologia* 22.6; *Dialogus* 69.3; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.23; Ambrose, *De Virginibus* 3.176.7

93 The ὑγιαίνω and ἰάομαι word groups are more popular at asklepieia, while θεραπεύω occurs rarely (see chapters two, three and five). In the New Testament the reverse is true (cf. chapters seven, eight and nine).

94 See Apps 3:2, 5:6, 6:1.

95 See Apps 2:1, 2:2, 3:2, 5:6, 6:1.

96 Despite Mk 1.1 (see above, 134). Metzger (1975) 73 comments thus on the inclusion of [υἱοῦ θεοῦ], category {C} within square brackets: "The absence of υἱοῦ θεοῦ in ℵ* Θ 28^{c} *al* may be due to an oversight in copying, occasioned by the similarity of the *nomina sacra*. On the other hand, however, there was always a temptation (to which copyists often succumbed) to expand titles and quasi-titles of books. Since the combination of B D W *al* in support of υἱοῦ θεοῦ is extremely strong, it was thought not advisable to omit the words altogether, yet because of the antiquity of the shorter reading and the possibility of scribal expansion, it was decided to enclose the words within square brackets." Mark's use of healing language would support the shorter reading.

97 See Apps 7:3, 8:1, 8:3 and 8:4.

98 Jn 1.1-18

God-word in both traditions, so its aspect is usually aoristic: the action is instantaneous and complete.[99] In contrast the aspect of θεραπεύω is imperfect: it describes an ongoing and growing reaction/effect, encompassing spiritual, emotional, psychological and physical factors. This activity involves both work and worry for the active agent as Euripides had earlier pointed out:

> "It's better to be sick than nurse the sick.
> Sickness is single trouble for the sufferer:
> but nursing means vexation of the mind,
> and hard work for the hands besides.
> (κρεῖσσον δὲ νοσεῖν ἢ θεραπεύειν·
> τὸ μέν ἐστιν ἁπλοῦν, τῷ δὲ συνάπτει
> λύπη τε φρενῶν χερσίν τε πόνος.)"[100]

This idea of 'work' and 'worry' is included in the gospel commission to θεραπεύειν, since this commission demands the nurturing of humans in a spiritual, emotional, psychological and physical sense. In this way the commission combines the continuous notions of work, comfort, care and service. However, a prerequisite for θεραπεύων-behaviour is the successful preaching and teaching of the healing word.[101] This healing λόγος demands the ignition of a continuing spark of recognition in the hearer to be effective, and requires that this recognition-process continue throughout life. In this way Jesus' λόγος produced a new way of living among those who heeded his word, a way of life designed to banish the πάθος of humankind. Thus in the synoptic gospels it is the spiritual aspect of θεραπεύω that is the most important: it is the healing word which strives to banish human anguish. As Epicurus had earlier stated:

> "Vain is the word of that philosopher by which no human anguish is healed. For just as the art of medicine is no use unless it heals diseases of the body, neither is philosophy unless it banishes the anguish of the soul (κενὸς ἐκείνου φιλοσόφου λόγος ὑφ' οὗ μηδὲν πάθος ἀνθρώπου θεραπεύεται. ὥσπερ

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99 Cf. Apps 2:1, 2:2, 3:2, 5:6, 6:1. Both Matthew (165-7) and Mark (164-5) use ἰάομαι in the same way.

100 Euripides, *Hippolytos* 186-8

101 "καὶ γὰρ οὔτε βοτάνη οὔτε μάλαγμα ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτους,
ἀλλὰ ὁ σός, Κύριε, λόγος ὁ πάντα ἰώμενος.
(For neither herb nor poultice healed them,
but it is your word, O Lord, which heals all humankind.)" Wisdom 16.12

γὰρ ἰατρικῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἰ μὴ τὰς νόσους τῶν σωμάτων θεραπεύει, οὕτως οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίας εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβάλλει πάθος)."[102]

Therefore the meaning of θεραπεύω in the New Testament definitely incorporates the idea of healing, but this healing is primarily for the anguish of the soul, so that those who participate in and 'hear' the message experience a change in thinking (μετανοία), a repentance which leads to their inclusion in a spiritual community that brings peace (εἰρήνη).

102 Epicurus, (Porphyrius, *ad Marcellam* 31 34 10). See App. 3:5, 1. The language used at Mt 8.16 is similar. Jesus threw out (ἐξέβαλεν) spirits with a word (λόγῳ), and healed (ἐθεράπευσεν) all those who were feeling poorly (πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας).

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